TN S ... E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
THE SHERROD LIBR
PERIODICALS LIBR
JOHNSON CITY TN
AUG 20 ...

The Nation.

August 21-28, 1982 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

DIAL-A-DEATH JUSTICE

Chief Justice Warren Burger picked up his telephone last Tuesday, polled seven of his colleagues, and then vacated the stay that, for some eight hours, prevented Virginia's execution of Frank J. Coppola. The lawyer who won the stay had no opportunity to address the Court. Dissenting Justices had no opportunity to address the majority and raise arguments that might have changed their minds. The Court's hasty action has therefore made the following questions moot—moot, that is, for Coppola, but not for the rest of us and not for the more than 1,000 men and women awaiting execution in the United States.

Virginia's law permitted the jury to sentence Coppola to death if it found his conduct "outrageously or wantonly vile, horrible or inhuman in that it involved torture, depravity of mind or an aggravated battery to the victim." On appeal, counsel argued that the judge's instructions to the jury on the meaning of those words were wrong. The Virginia Supreme Court declined to "pass on" this challenge because "counsel did not raise the issue at trial." Was the jury that sentenced Coppola to death misinformed?

Coppola began by fighting his conviction, but he eventually decided to drop all challenges to his execution. Why? Had he, as his attorney argued, been "dehumanized" by four years on death row?

Regardless of Frank Coppola's wishes, don't the rest of us have a right to know that an execution is not merely volitional but constitutional as well? Even after the *Furman* decision in 1972, hundreds of death sentences have been invalidated because the laws under which they were imposed were found lacking. What if the Virginia law, currently under review, is held invalid?

We recognize that for some goals haste may pre-empt accuracy, but surely execution is not one of them. What was the rush?

CERTIFYING EL SALVADOR
Cynthia Brown

DEFENSE SENSE
Ronald V. Dellums

CHILD LAB...
Peter Edelman

ISRAEL'S BOOMERANG
Boas Evron

'JUSTICE' IN NORTH CAROLINA
William K. Tabb
Martha Nathan

NEW ORLEANS JAZZ
Frederick Turner

ETSU LIBRARY

THE GREAT ESCAPE

THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE DEFICIT

JOHN McDERMOTT

After drawing up a 1983 budget with a deficit of considerably more than $100 billion, President Reagan exhorted Congress to pass a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced Federal budget. That was a bit like W.C. Fields calling ...ohibition.

...rybody in Washington deplores deficits, but nobody can agree on what causes them. Some blame the growing national debt on excessive spending for social programs. Others pinpoint Pentagon waste. Still others blame the recession, with its concomitant high interest rates and rising unemployment. Liberals and conservatives, hawks and doves, Keynesians and supply-siders all have different theories.

But these explanations fail to consider an obvious cause: Federal tax policy. A cursory look at the nation's tax history since World War II (see graph on page 146) shows that tax policy has been consistent in one area. The tax burden on big business has been systematically eased by shifting it—or at least part of it—to individual taxpayers. The resulting shortfall in revenues has been made up by borrowing.

Let me illustrate. In 1946, individual taxpayers paid 50.1 percent of all the taxes Washington took in; 45.9 percent of this amount was paid in income taxes and 4.2 percent in payroll assessments. Corporate taxes made up 30.7 percent of the total, with virtually the entire amount coming from taxes on profits. For every $5 in Federal revenues paid by individuals, corporations paid $3.

By 1976, the picture had altered dramatically. Personal income taxes made up 52.6 per-

(*Continued on Page 144*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

CLOSED DEBATE ON ISRAEL

Oakland, Calif.

Although I respect many of the writers published in *The Nation*, the magazine's editorial policy has lost my respect and won my contempt. *The Nation* claims to stand for untrammeled free speech and opinion, but it rigidly practices an obvious and hypocritical censorship of ideas when they stray beyond a narrow channel of support, however qualified, for Zionism and the state of Israel. . . .

Regarding Palestine and Israel, many liberals have unilaterally decided that the future of the Israeli state and the sanctity of some imaginary form of purified Zionism are closed questions. *The Nation* has a right to those opinions, but by trying to eliminate left dissenters from the debate, it only succeeds in making itself irrelevant to it. Though the magazine may refuse to conduct a dialogue with us, we will continue to play a role in shaping history. . . .

Steve Goldfield

"FAIR-MINDED" COVERAGE

Missoula, Mont.

On balance, I believe that *The Nation* has handled the incursion of the Israelis into Lebanon in a very fair-minded way, and I congratulate the magazine for it. The recent editorial "Tears of Victory" [July 10-17], which includes such statements as "Menachem Begin's war will not strengthen the security of the state of Israel," is a case in point. And that is so correct!

Many of us who have for years been involved in liberal movements have recently become tired of, if not downright put out by, the tunnel vision of some of Israel's supporters—such as those who took a leading part in opposing our war in Vietnam. But now, many of these same individuals are claiming that what Menachem Begin and Ariel Sharon are doing in Lebanon is O.K.; in fact, it's a good idea. Duplicity in vision is what I call it.

W. H. Fisher

OSTRICH MENTALITY OF THE LEFT

New York City

Back in the 1950s, when I was on the staff of *The Nation*, my friend Dan Gillmor and I were heavily involved in the formation of arcane organizations. We formed the Subversive Committee Activities Board (SCAB) to promote the proliferation of subversive activities as defined by J. McCarthy; the Society for the Abolition of All-Digit Dialing, Zip Codes and Acronyms (SAADDZCA); the American Association for the Abolition of Amateur Analysts (AAAAA); and our most popular group, the Northern Committee for Southern Democracy Only (N.C.S.D.O.).

The N.C.S.D.O. was our most popular group since the others were limited to Dan and myself. However, in 1968, after much *sturm und drang*, we inducted the estimable Angus Cameron into life membership in the Northern Committee for Southern Democracy Only—thus giving it a 33.33 percent edge in membership over the other groups.

Our slogan for N.C.S.D.O. was: "Don't bother us about conditions up here; we're only worried about them down there." In honor of Cameron's induction we added another slogan: "Something should be done about everyone else."

All this is a prelude to a brief comment on Denise Levertov's brief piece ["Minority of One," *The Nation*, July 3], which is sure to evoke a torrent of replies from candidates for the Northern Committee for Southern Democracy Only. The good Dan will be observing from Up There, and I'll be checking for recruits Down Here.

Levertov quite properly said she condemned evil with an even hand. That's a sin for the no-no-my-way-only salvationists, a subgroup we tried to land for the N.C.S.D.O.

So it is we have people talking of Israel as launching the next holocaust. (That's sick!) And ignoring the millions (hey! that's MILLIONS) of Afghani refugees now in Pakistan, not to mention how many people in beleaguered Afghanistan the Russians have slaughtered. (But the Russians have an advantage: that war is not on TV.)

We have eminent civil libertarians ("Lefty" Cockburn comes to mind) clucking about Israeli violations on the West Bank (admitted) but ignoring the political prisoners languishing in Polish and Cuban and Russian gulags.

In their lexicon, the P.L.O. is not the P.L.O. of the Munich Olympic Games or the bringer of terror and repression to the people of Lebanon. It is in some mystical way transformed into the carrier of the holy fires of freedom.

Alas for Levertov. I know the symptoms well. American politics have long been poisoned by the same syndrome—particularly on the left. The left will continue being sick if it can't come to grips with the fact that Israel has no business killing Lebanese—and at the same time the P.L.O. has no business killing Israelis and vowing death to the entire country.

We who read *The Nation* are sufficiently sophisticated to broaden the membership list of the N.C.S.D.O.—if we permit ourselves to be honest with ourselves.

Alas. When Dan and I launched the N.C.S.D.O. we didn't know how widespread the symptoms would become. We thought perhaps people, overcome by the penetrating logic behind the idea, would see the error of their ways and understand that justice and freedom are indivisible.

I feel it's time for a revival of the N.C.S.D.O.—if only to pinpoint the ostrich mentality of too many good people on the left. A salute to Levertov. She'll never qualify for membership.

Martin Solow

HURRAY FOR LEVERTOV

Cleveland

In response to Denise Levertov, let me say HURRAY for a point well taken! As a committed leftist and a Jew, I find myself straddling a difficult fence for dual statehood. I defend the P.L.O. to my parents, who as avid Zionists believe they have a moral obligation to support Israel right or wrong (although they would never advocate such blind support for the United States). And I defend the existence of a Jewish state to my friends, whose insistent criticisms of Israel sometimes strike a sensitive nerve (since I have experienced real anti-Semitism). Jews and leftists in the United States all too often equate support for the Begin government with support for the existence of a Jewish state. There is stronger opposition to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in Israel than there is in the United States. Jews in this country must become more critical of the policies of the Begin government. The left has to become more tolerant of Israel's legitimate needs. And both groups have to recognize that in the end, violence only begets more violence.

Susannah Muskovitz

THE SILENT AMERICANS

New York City

. . . In the July 3 issue, *The Nation* "covered" the Israeli invasion of Lebanon with two signed editorials: one by Denise Levertov, explaining why, as a "Minority of One," she chose not to sign a protest letter in *The New York Times* because of a "conflict of loyalties"; and another by Jacobo Timerman, explaining how, in this "Moment of Truth," failure is to be laid at the door of European leaders, progressives around the world and, above all, the P.L.O. and Yasir Arafat (with his "totalitarian mentality," "aggressiveness" and "fascist ideas").

The concerns of Levertov and Timerman are not without interest, and they might under other circumstances be worthy of debate. But under the appalling circumstances at hand, Levertov's *mea culpa* and Timerman's *sua culpa* hardly constitute a responsible measure of reporting on the invasion (especially when Levertov's editorial is on the same page as a "Notice to Our Readers" that *The Nation* has gone on its biweekly summer schedule).

Unfortunately, Denise Levertov is no "minority of one," but part of a majority of millions in this country who remain silent while Lebanese and Palestinian civilians are

(*Continued on Page 147*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 235, Number 5

LETTERS
130

EDITORIALS
129 Dial-A-Death Justice
131 Fantasy Certified — *Cynthia Brown*
132 Freedom House
133 Defense Sense — *Ronald V. Dellums*
134 *Minority Report* — *Christopher Hitchens*
135 *Uncivil Liberties* — *Calvin Trillin*

ARTICLES
129 The Great Escape: The Secret History of the Deficit — *John McDermott*
136 Unsacred Cow: Child Labor Revisited — *Peter Edelman*
138 Israel & the "War Machine": A Military Boomerang — *Boas Evron*

Drawings by Frances Jetter

139 The View from N.C.: Civil Rights, the Klan & Reagan Justice — *William K. Tabb and Martha Nathan*
141 The Housing Crisis: Dreams and Nightmares — *Peter Dreier*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
148 At the Jazz Band Ball — *Frederick Turner*
150 Settle: The Killing Ground — *J.D. O'Hara*
152 Gahagan Douglas: A Full Life — *Paul Berman*
153 Schlissel: Women's Diaries Of the Westward Journey
Hampsten: Read This Only To Yourself — *Judith Levine*
154 The Grand Magic Theater Finale (poem) — *Irving Feldman*
154 Theater — *Richard Gilman*
156 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editor,* Kai Bird; *Assistant Editor,* Eric Etheridge; *Literary Editor,* Katha Pollitt; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor,* Janet Gold; *Assistant Copy Editor,* Judith Long; *Editorial Assistant,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon; *Interns,* Jeff Biddulph, Jonathan Birchall, Sam Delson, Darcy Frey, Alice Garbarini, Richard Kaye, Jane Oski, Jeff Schwaber, Nancy Schwartz, Sara Seigle. *On leave,* Barbara Dudley Davis, Robert Sherrill.

Departments: Architecture, Jane Holtz Kay; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

The Nation is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Advertising Manager, Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen King; *Subscription Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Classified,* Deborah Kriger; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Laurie Lipper; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Jack Berkowitz.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1982 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $35; two years, $65; six months, $17.50. Add $7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; $13 per year other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

Fantasy Certified

"A close call" is the way the Reagan Administration's top human rights official described it. The phrase is somewhat disingenuous: the President's July 27 certification that El Salvador has met the human rights conditions of the Foreign Assistance Act and thus qualifies for continued U.S. military aid does not appear to have been in doubt at any point. But, as the law requires a comprehensive evaluation of the facts, the Administration produced a forty-eight-page document to back its claims.

The certification report places particular emphasis on three areas: the March 28 election of representatives to El Salvador's new sixty-seat Constituent Assembly, which led to the selection of a banker with close ties to the military as the country's provisional president; the actions taken by the government to discipline military personnel; and the progress that has been made in implementing land reform. The Administration does not dispute that human rights abuses continue on a barbaric scale, but it claims that the Salvadoran government is making progress in halting them. In all, the report combines important facts with equally important omissions and makes plain that the Administration is not above a touch of fantasy when the truth would be unhelpful.

Consider the report's conclusions about the elections and their significance, which are described as "the development of democratic order." Fact: officially, 1.5 million Salva-

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee
AUG 20 1982
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dorans voted on March 28, an impressive number. Omission: while most observers, including the Administration, agree that the high turnout reflected a yearning for a peaceful political process, the new government is committed to continued war. Fantasy: "the popular accountability inherent in the democratic process" will create pressure for "a return to law and order."

As to the disciplining of military personnel for human rights abuses, the report offers a barrage of statistics which it then proceeds to show are less an argument for certification than an argument against it. Fact: "at least 1,000" members of the security forces have been disciplined since the 1979 coup, and 109 have been disciplined in the past six months, the period under scrutiny for certification. Omission: if more than 1,000 have been disciplined in thirty-two months, then 109 is actually a low number for a six-month period. Further, the 109 figure is misleading: according to the report, only 76 of the 109 were detained for "serious offenses," of which only 61 were "arrested for violent abuses." Fantasy: this represents an attempt to "improve the disciplinary structure of the Armed Forces."

The report admits that land reform in El Salvador ran into trouble after the elections because of hostility from the new government, and that there was a resultant rise in peasant evictions from rented lands under Phase III of the program (Land to the Tiller). It also correctly states that the army has been restoring evicted peasants to these lands, which they supposedly own automatically under the reform. Omitted is mention of the absence of any punishment of the landlords responsible for the illegal evictions. And while the report states that 1,900 *campesino* families have been reinstated since June 1, it omits the estimate of the U.P.D., a centrist labor-peasant federation, that 9,600 families had been evicted in the preceding two months. As for Phase I of the reform, which was intended to convert large estates into peasant cooperatives, the Administration's own data show that since last December, the number of beneficiaries has *declined* by an estimated 29,000—more than 10 percent. The new government has eliminated Phase II of the reform, leaving El Salvador's richest coffee estates in the hands of the land-owning elite. Fantasy: this adds up to "demonstrable progress" in land reform.

Then there is the troublesome matter of continued murders, disappearances and torture. Some 3,000 Salvadorans were assassinated by official or officially sanctioned forces in the first six months of this year, according to the legal aid office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador. While this represents a lower level of verified political murders than existed during 1981, organizations monitoring human rights in El Salvador emphasize that the practice and policy of political murder are unchanged and that disappearances—many of which should probably be considered deaths—remain frequent. The Administration treads lightly here, but states that, in March, a Congressional delegation to El Salvador paid a surprise visit to National Police headquarters and saw nothing untoward. However, the day before certification was granted, *The Washington Post* published a story about the recent torture of a medical volunteer, which took place "in a secret part of National Police headquarters." So much for the tour.

The certification report is rather like an order issued by Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García just before the elections, which was presented in the Administration's report as evidence of the military's sincere concern for human rights. Stressing the necessity of professional and impartial conduct on the part of the armed forces, García's order explained, "Only by this conduct can we contribute to [the goal that] friendly countries continue offering us their support in this fight . . ." Both the report and the order were intended to foster an image—in the Administration's case, an image of serious evaluation, of weighing alternatives (though the certification was never really in doubt). García's order is refreshing, in its way, amid the piety of the certification report, for at least it does not offer the fantasy that war is peace, or that human rights, of themselves, are important to the Salvadoran military.

CYNTHIA BROWN

Cynthia Brown writes frequently for The Nation *on Latin American issues.*

Freedom House

Freedom House describes itself as "a nongovernmental organization dedicated to promoting democracy and human rights throughout the world." A July 15 report by this New York City-based group, calling for the recertification of El Salvador on the grounds that it is complying with the human rights conditions of the Foreign Assistance Act, was cited by the Reagan Administration when critics in Congress raised questions about human rights abuses that had been documented in a report written by Cynthia Brown for the Americas Watch Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union.

The Freedom House report is a twenty-five-page document that is largely given over to a discussion of the March 28 election of representatives to El Salvador's new Constituent Assembly. Nothing is said about the violence against the left that deterred it from taking part in the elections, such as the November 1980 incident in which six leaders of the Democratic Revolutionary Front were kidnapped from a press conference, tortured and murdered by the Salvadoran security forces. Nothing is said about whether the elections actually established democratic civilian control, a matter that seems doubtful since the security forces subsequently selected a president and dictated the composition of the government to insure that the ostensible victor—the coalition headed by Major Roberto d'Aubuisson—would not jeopardize continued U.S. military aid. All that Freedom House tells us is that the elections were "substantially free and fair." It should be noted that Freedom House also found the 1979 elections in Zimbabwe free and fair, and told us that the triumph of Bishop Abel Muzorewa's party represented the will of the Zimbabwean people and a rejection of the terrorist guerrillas. But the following year, when the so-called terrorists were permitted to take part in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elections, Muzorewa's party received only about 8 percent of the vote.

Some four pages of the Freedom House report are devoted to the human rights situation in El Salvador. Statistics on political murders compiled by the Reagan Administration from the extremist right-wing Salvadoran press are cited. The Administration itself, recognizing that its credibility would suffer if it relied solely on these figures, now also cites the much higher numbers compiled by human rights groups in El Salvador. Freedom House presents the Salvadoran press figures as though they were beyond question.

After this performance, we suggest that Freedom House find a new slogan. How about "a nongovernmental organization intermittently dedicated to promoting democracy and human rights in selected areas of the world"?

Defense Sense

Although virtually unreported by the press, Congress recently set a historic precedent: the House Rules Committee allowed a comprehensive alternative military budget to be brought to the floor for full debate.

This ruling was the result of a series of legislative steps that began in January, when I formally petitioned Mel Price, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, to expand the committee's hearings on the military budget to provide a public forum for dissenting views on the Reagan Administration's foreign policy and its military spending program.

When Price declined to do so, I decided to conduct hearings on my own. After raising the necessary funds, my staff and I invited more than forty witnesses to analyze the implications of the military budget. The discussion was organized around six major issues: the foreign policy and national security implications of the military budget; the assumptions about strategic and tactical weapons underlying the budget (especially the question of escalation versus disarmament); the budget's economic implications; its moral implications; citizens' responsibilities for monitoring the military budget; and the impact of global arms sales on the military budget. A number of my Congressional colleagues attended the hearings, which lasted six full days and provided a comprehensive analysis of U.S. military and foreign policy.

After studying more than 1,400 pages of transcript testimony, my staff and I met with a series of defense analysts and budget experts to begin drafting an alternative military budget. Our work evolved into H.R. 6696.

The House Rules Committee determines whether or not a bill will be debated, how long it will be debated and what amendments might be added to it during the debate. Our next step, therefore, was to convince the committee to give us the time we needed to make the case for a new foreign and military policy. We were pleasantly surprised when our proposal was designated as the substitute for the committee bill (H.R. 6030) and given one hour for debate. In urging acceptance of this format, Rules Committee chairman Richard Bolling noted that, although he had been an unrepentant hawk throughout the war in Indochina, he regretted that Congress had never provided a significant opportunity for dissenting views to be heard on the floor. Bolling felt that the breadth and seriousness of our views justified a full hearing.

We brought our alternative military budget to the House floor on July 20. During the course of two and a half hours of debate, I proposed a foreign and military policy based on nonintervention, nuclear and conventional arms de-escalation, a mutual reduction of forces by both superpowers and their Warsaw Pact and NATO allies, and a rejection of the doctrine of nuclear superiority (which I believe is a contradiction in terms) in favor of one of nuclear sufficiency.

Based on the testimony we had received from expert witnesses, I proposed the total elimination of all crisis-destabilizing nuclear weapons systems, such as the MX missile, the Pershing 2 missile, all sea-launched and ground-launched cruise missiles, the Trident II missile and the neutron bomb. I also proposed the elimination of chemical warfare weapons and such obsolete weapons systems as the B-1 bomber, the M-1 tank, the two new nuclear carriers proposed in the Defense Department authorization bill and the Aegis missile cruiser program. As a first step toward mutual troop reductions, I proposed a 5 percent reduction in U.S. military personnel. To lessen the possibility of U.S. intervention in the Third World, I proposed the total elimination of the Rapid Deployment Force and the incremental reduction of the surface fleet to approximately 400 vessels (the Administration has proposed that the fleet be increased to 640 vessels).

Our proposal would have reduced the Pentagon's budget authority by approximately $55 billion in the first year alone. More important, it suggested continued cuts in nuclear and conventional weapons systems and in personnel, and the establishment of stringent oversight controls for waste, fraud and abuse. Within three years, such cuts and controls would reduce the annual Federal deficit by more than 60 percent.

Despite the proposal's ultimate defeat by a vote of 348 to 55, we were encouraged by the seriousness with which it was debated; in fact, many of those who opposed it offered statements of rebuttal drafted with the direct assistance of the Pentagon. We will present an updated version of this proposal next year because, as I said on the House floor:

> The people of America—and the world—need to know that there are constructive alternatives to the present escalation of the arms race, both nuclear and conventional. We cannot allow this escalation to continue, because we already stand at the brink of a nuclear confrontation and its subsequent holocaust. I intend to continue posing these constructive alternatives in the hope that the American people will join me in working together to make a safer and saner tomorrow for ourselves and our children.

RONALD V. DELLUMS

Representative Ronald V. Dellums is a senior member of the Armed Services Committee and has represented the 8th Congressional District of California since 1971.

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

When political life seems too harsh to bear, there is a tonic more euphoric than the bottle and more sedative than a cigar. Simply pick up a copy of *Conservative Digest* and discover that, after all, liberalism is still in power. It may not *seem* that way, but then the *Digest* and its high-powered team are too smart to be deceived by appearances. Every month, *C.D.* brings you a fresh perspective. In between the Paul Weyrich column (excerpted from the John Birch Society magazine, *American Opinion*) and ads for a book called *How To Stand Up For Your Rights & Win!* by Roy Cohn, the uninstructed reader can find the news behind the news. An hour with *Conservative Digest* is like a visit to the zoo (if, unlike its editors, one accepts the theory of evolution). Here can be traced the political ancestry and genealogy of the Reagan Administration: Viguerie, Nofziger, Buchanan and the rest. Editing is John Lofton Jr., who also composes a lugubrious twice-weekly column for the local Moonie sheet, *The Washington Times*.

There would be scant reason for mentioning *Conservative Digest* if it were not for the fact that its backers and publisher believe, with some reason, that they put Reagan in the White House. Over the last month, they have been wondering aloud whether they made a horrible mistake. The most recent cover story showed a fading Reagan wittily asking, "Where's the Best of Me?" A larger question appeared in bolder type: "Has Reagan Deserted the Conservatives?" On forty separate counts the *Digest* answers yes.

Some of its objections are ludicrous and paranoid (number thirty-three: "did not oppose new 7.8% loans to Communist Rumania"; number twenty-four: "has allowed the State Department and Vice President Bush to set the stage for abandoning Taiwan, one of our best allies, to the communists"). Other beefs are more substantial (number eight: "failed to actively support Senate move to end busing"; number fifteen: "signed extension of 1965 Voting Rights Act"). Still others are old hat, like objection number forty, which is "IRS harassment of . . . private schools proved to practice racial discrimination." Some are funny—objection twenty-two boldly says that "the Department of Justice supports the feminist position"—and some are faintly sinister, like objection twenty-three, which complains that "judicial nominees are not screened for their views on pro-life and family issues by either the Justice Department or the White House."

The conservative mind is no more subtle than it is elegant. The original annoyance of the right was the exclusion of its cadres from Reagan's inner circle. Their snouts are just not in the trough. Years of gloom and resentment have taught them to look for conspiracies, and it does not occur to them that the real reason for this nonrecruitment is the sheer mediocrity (to put it no higher) of their members. Instead, men like James Baker are made the objects of hate campaigns. The hidden hand of the Trilateral Commission combines with the ghost of Rockefeller to exclude the deserving.

As *Conservative Digest* puts it, "Reagan seldom meets with his conservative supporters in a working environment. Paper flow to the President is tightly restricted by Richard Darman, a liberal Republican." Proof positive! As Richard Viguerie once said, his type of person is no good at having lunch. I don't doubt that the table manners of his colleagues are on all fours with their political charms. But an affirmative action program for underachieving rightists, which is what he is asking for, would hardly meet the case.

Is there any truth in the accusations of the reactionaries? In two critical policy areas, taxation and foreign affairs, they sense that the old gang is still in charge. It was, to a great extent, the fierce conservatives who waged war on Haig, only to see him replaced by Shultz (who at the time of writing has still not uttered a syllable on Lebanon). And it was the no-less-fierce conservatives who fought to cut both spending *and* taxation to the bone. This week has been bitter for them, with Reagan sponsoring a huge tax increase as he realizes the obvious—you can't raise expenditures as massively as he has done *without* the I.R.S.

The obvious doesn't concern the conservatives. They don't want to cut the defense budget and they don't want to raise taxes, but they do want to cut the deficit and they say they want lower interest rates. When this square obstinately refuses to become circular, they start banging their spoons on their trays. They could be honest and propose a deep, serious cut in entitlements—principally in Social Security—but so far they have not done so in public.

Clearly, such rhetoric tells on Reagan too. In a "Dear John" letter to the anguished Lofton (see, these kooks *do* have some access), he said that he "had to swallow very hard" in supporting his own tax bill. He also denied, pointlessly, that it was the biggest single tax increase in history. In fact, information officers at the Treasury Department say it is "the largest one-year and three-year legislated tax increase on record in a single piece of legislation." The President fell back on the bizarre defense that the tax increase would bring spending cuts with it. He believes there will be a reduction of $3 in outlay for every $1 in increased revenue. It won't take long for that prediction to be falsified either, and when that happens the great communicator may find himself in trouble not with the conservatives (who have nowhere else to go) but with reality. Only last month, the General Accounting Office found that he had been selling off the national stockpile of strategic metals to make the deficit look better. Such conjury has its limits.

Still, privately, some conservatives are taking comfort. They argue that, in California, Reagan moved to the right rather than to the left under the pressure of experience and office. On foreign policy, for all the alleged "pragmatism" of Shultz, they are being proved correct. The President really does believe in his own propaganda. On economic matters, they are probably too sanguine. Here, what the President says he wants is actually impossible—whether he believes the propaganda or not. The words are loathsome, dark and deep, and he has promises to keep, if not exactly miles to go before he sleeps.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

CALVIN TRILLIN

Not long ago, I ran across a man who pulls his own teeth. As my father used to say, you meet all kinds. I suppose you're wondering how the subject came up. I suspect you think it came up during one of those frivolous summertime conversations on the beach, when people try to be clever as a way of diverting attention from their waistlines. Somebody says something like "The way the book business is going these days, I half expect to turn on a talk show and see some shrink in a turtleneck sweater pushing a best seller called *How to Extract Your Own Appendix by Believing in Yourself.*" Everyone chuckles, but then one person on the edge of the crowd—a rather intense-looking person who is wearing sandals and black socks and has a thermos full of lukewarm mineral water with him—says, "As a matter of fact, I pull my own teeth." That is not the way it happened at all.

Now that you know that, you probably think I simply read about this in the newspaper, because a lot of newspaper stories these days are about the sort of people who go on talk shows in turtlenecks to discuss taking out your own appendix: "Two years ago," you imagine the newspaper story saying, "nobody could have predicted that Dr. Marvin Smolin, a successful and conventional suburban dentist, was destined to become the leader of a movement advocating that people pull their own teeth. Dr. Smolin then had a prosperous practice in Bergen County, New Jersey, and was widely known in the New York television world as the technical consultant to the long-running network series based on a father-and-son dental practice—*The Extractors.* He was active in the American Dental Association, having served for three years running as chairman of the A.D.A.'s Special Committee on Tax Shelters. 'I was Joe Establishment, D.D.S., but I really didn't know who I was,' Dr. Smolin said yesterday, while in town to conduct a four-day seminar on auto-extractics. 'Just for a start, I thought I was Joe Establishment, D.D.S., and I was really Marvin Smolin.' " That's not how it happened. Not even close. The subject of auto-extraction came up because I noticed a man who was jumping up and down.

It happened in front of a fruit and vegetable stand in my neighborhood. At first, I didn't pay much attention to the man who was jumping up and down, because I assumed he was just reacting to the price of raspberries. That happens a lot in my neighborhood. I've seen a man stomping on his own hat over what an avocado costs these days. I once saw someone who looked perfectly normal—which is not, as it happens, the way most people in my neighborhood look—lying on his stomach in a produce store and banging on the floor with his fists in response to what they had the nerve to charge for one lousy cantaloupe.

This jumping up and down had nothing to do with the price of fruit and vegetables. The man involved was jumping up and down to demonstrate how he diverts the blood supply from his mouth so there is less pain when he pulls his own tooth. That you never guessed. That is how it happened. He was explaining the entire process to a friend. I overheard everything. He takes some pill; I can't remember the name of it, but from the way he described it I assume it's the sort of thing that might make you feel like having a go at your spleen once you had your infected molar out of the way. Then he jumps up and down, and then—Whammo!—he pulls his own tooth. Other than that, he looked like an unremarkable fellow, except that he was missing a lot of teeth. I got the feeling he might pull a perfectly healthy one now and then just to keep in practice.

I don't want to talk about the question of whether a man who pulls his own teeth is the one true practitioner of holistic medicine. That's not what this is all about. I know my friend Harold the Committed would have you believe that this just goes to show that Brute Capitalism, which treats the health of the people as a commodity to be bought and sold, has forced auto-extractic practices on decent working men. Sometimes I get awfully tired of Harold the Committed. He may well be right about Brute Capitalism, but as I sized up this fellow who pulls his own teeth—and I'll admit that sizing up a fellow is not that easy to do if he keeps jumping up and down and trying to simulate the effects of a pill that makes you want to have a go at your own spleen—I figured he might be interested in pulling his own teeth even if he could afford the cantaloupe at my neighborhood fruit and vegetable store.

I suppose by now you must think that what this is all about is some gripe I've been harboring against professional dentistry. Not exactly. As it happens, I did recently have a tooth pulled by a second party. My only complaint was that he threw the tooth away while I was still under the anesthetic—an anesthetic that did not, by the way, summon up in me any enthusiasm for going after my own spleen. I had plans for that tooth. What I had intended to do was to donate it to the American Dental Association and take a write-off of $20,000, which is what I estimated I had put into the tooth over the years. That happens to be a conservative estimate, because I didn't perfect the scheme until I was sitting in the second party's recovery room, still woozy from the anesthetic, and I might have let a root canal or two slip my mind.

I don't blame the dentist who pulled my tooth for not anticipating the use I might have had for an extracted bicuspid—which, not to quibble or make a big point of it, happened to be my property by the ancient Common Law rules of attachment. I think I'd let him pull the next one; I'd simply have my accountant there to receive it. I don't want to pull my own teeth. I am still amazed, though, at how plausible it all sounded at the fruit stand. I remember thinking that pulling an upper tooth down would be a lot easier than pulling a lower tooth up. I could almost see myself pulling an upper tooth. I take the pill. I jump up and down. Then, whammo!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

UNSACRED COW

Child Labor Revisited

PETER EDELMAN

On July 16, the Department of Labor proposed a change in its child labor regulations to allow 14- and 15-year-olds to work more hours and in more occupations than is currently permitted. Lane Kirkland, president of the A.F.L.-C.I.O., called the proposal a "social outrage." His spokesman, Rex Hardesty, said, "The Reagan Administration is turning us back about seventy years in child labor laws."

The Administration had walked into a minefield, and while it may not be as explosive as the one it entered when it suggested reducing Social Security benefits for early retirees, it is dangerous to political life and limb nonetheless.

Child labor laws have long been a political sacred cow, and why not? They were passed in response to conditions that were outrageous and exploitive in the extreme, and the struggle to enact them was long and difficult. Still, it is fair to ask, nearly five decades later, whether there are any circumstances under which changes in these laws and regulations would be in order, and whether the Administration's proposals fit those circumstances.

To determine if any changes are needed there must be a careful and comprehensive look at contemporary conditions. But that is not what has happened. Instead, the fast food and amusement park interests—stymied at least for the moment in their quest for a subminimum wage for workers under 18—convinced the Administration to help them out as a kind of consolation prize.

And, because there are more teen-agers unemployed now than there have been since the government began keeping statistics in 1948, the proposal to permit 14- and 15-year-olds to work a little more, whatever its abstract merits, is exceptionally ill timed.

But the Reagan Administration has inadvertently done the country a service, however clumsily, by opening a debate on the child labor laws. About five years ago, the Carter Administration quietly commissioned a study of these laws by the National Child Labor Committee, which has been an advocate of regulations to protect children in the workplace since the turn of the century. The study, completed two and a half years ago, fills two thick volumes and has been gathering dust in the best tradition of thoughtful studies. The Reagan people may have given it a second half-life.

Not surprisingly, the study rejects wholesale relaxation of child labor restrictions. But it meticulously documents how the combination of state laws (which vary from one state to another) and Federal standards has caused a good deal of confusion among many employers, especially in smaller businesses, and has created legitimate resentment. And it points out that inexact language prohibiting certain kinds of work "in work rooms," or "in proximity to" or "around" various locations or machinery, provides a less than adequate guide to compliance.

In the late 1970s, when I was director of the New York State Division for Youth, many employers told me they were willing to hire 16- and 17-year-olds but could not do so because of what they alleged were outmoded laws and regulations. At first I dismissed their comments as excuses for not doing what they had no intention of doing anyway.

But I heard the argument from too many people in too many places, and I finally concluded there was some truth in it. Certain occupations that were hazardous half a century ago may not be so now, given modern safety measures and better machinery design. In fact, existing regulations may exclude younger workers from some occupations for reasons wholly unrelated to health and safety. On the other hand, new hazards and new occupations have arisen since the laws were passed, and coverage should be extended to include them. A comprehensive re-examination of the child labor laws should indeed be undertaken, and, if done correctly, it need not turn back the clock at all.

That re-examination should begin with 16- and 17-year-olds, not 14- and 15-year-olds. It should ask, job category by job category and industry by industry, whether health and safety considerations require the exclusion of 16- and 17-year-olds who might othewise obtain desperately needed first jobs or gain valuable experience that would help prepare them for permanent employment.

The Reagan Administration's main proposal—allowing 14- and 15-year-olds to work twenty-four hours a week during the school year (they can now work eighteen) and until 9 o'clock on school nights (they can now work until 7 P.M.)—ignores the older adolescent and is highly questionable from both an educational and a developmental perspective. But the Administration's suggestion that 14- and 15-year-olds be allowed to work limited hours in such capacities as messengers, switchboard or teletype operators and sales or office personnel in mail-order houses might not seem outrageous if there was not such massive unemployment.

It should be noted, however, that by expanding the number of occupations open to 14- and 15-year-olds, the proposed regulation raises serious questions as to how compliance could be enforced. For example, these students for the first time would be permitted to cook and bake. But they would not be allowed to handle hot grease while working over an open flame. Will there ever be enough inspectors to enforce that distinction, even under non-Reagan budgets? Similarly, under current rules, 14- and 15-year-olds cannot work in laundries. The proposed regulation would allow them to fold and sort laundry in rooms without laundry machinery. Who will enforce that fine line? Many other occupations that would be open to 14- and 15-year-olds are of

Peter Edelman is a professor of law at Georgetown University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this camel's-nose-under-the-tent genus.

It is also worth thinking about which young people would benefit from the proposed regulation. They would be largely middle class and white and live in the suburbs. According to the government's statistics, about 50 percent of all minority teen-agers in urban areas are unemployed, and that figure is undoubtedly too low. There are no more jobs to be had. And child labor protections, tragically, are hardly relevant when 12-year-olds are couriers in drug transactions and 14-year-olds are working late hours as muggers. These are not the people who will find jobs sorting laundry or working extra hours at McDonald's.

The sick joke underlying the proposed regulation, of course, has to do with the continuing and deepening crisis of youth unemployment, which has been severely exacerbated by the policies of the Reagan Administration. The President's response to this crisis is a textbook case of fiddling while Rome burns.

In fairness, the problem didn't start with Reagan. Youth unemployment has steadily increased during the past seven Administrations. The changing labor market has eliminated many jobs that young people used to get and has boosted the entry-level age in industry after industry. No President has ever pursued a policy that offered significant hope for change, although Johnson and Carter at least understood the fact that a voluntaristic "hire a youth" approach cannot even make a dent.

A full employment policy must begin with a growth-oriented macro-economic policy and with investment and development strategies targeted at areas of high unemployment, in order to step up the demand for workers in general. But we must make an extra investment in younger people so they will have the skills they need.

It is absolutely essential that the schools, including community colleges and regional vocational and technical schools, perform more effectively in preparing young people for the job market. Most programs emphasizing the importance of mastering basic skills are directed at elementary school children. Indeed, even in the educational reform period of the late 1960s, urban junior and senior high schools were largely ignored. The assumption was that they were irremediable "blackboard jungles" and that it made more sense to bypass them and create alternative schools and street academies. Only now are urban school officials recognizing that they must make a strenuous effort to transform high schools into places where young people are realistically prepared for the job market. And an important part of that effort involves working with the private sector to create job training programs that will serve as bridges to careers in expanding fields.

We must also be willing to spend public funds to provide work experience and temporary jobs for young people, including jobs in the private sector, since that is where the permanent jobs are. The Reagan Administration has adamantly opposed spending money for these purposes. But it is necessary for two reasons—as an important component of training and as a matter of income support during extended periods of involuntary joblessness.

The Administration lives on another planet when it comes to responding to these needs. With unemployment at Depression levels in many regions, in all inner cities and among teen-agers, the Reagan people have decimated the few programs that might have ameliorated the situation and are now trying to divert attention from the problem with talk of a constitutional amendment to balance the budget.

What is especially discouraging is that the Democrats are currently as unresponsive as the Republicans. Reagan's destruction of the tax base and his frenetic arms buildup have made it politically impossible to advocate significant spending on social programs. Thus the silence has been noticeable on both sides of the aisle.

The issue of jobs for youth must ultimately be seen in the context of full employment. Special initiatives for youth are crucial, but full employment ultimately depends on economic growth. The key elements of a genuine full-employment policy would be:

§ An incomes policy with restraints that would reduce inflationary pressures during times of economic recovery and growth;

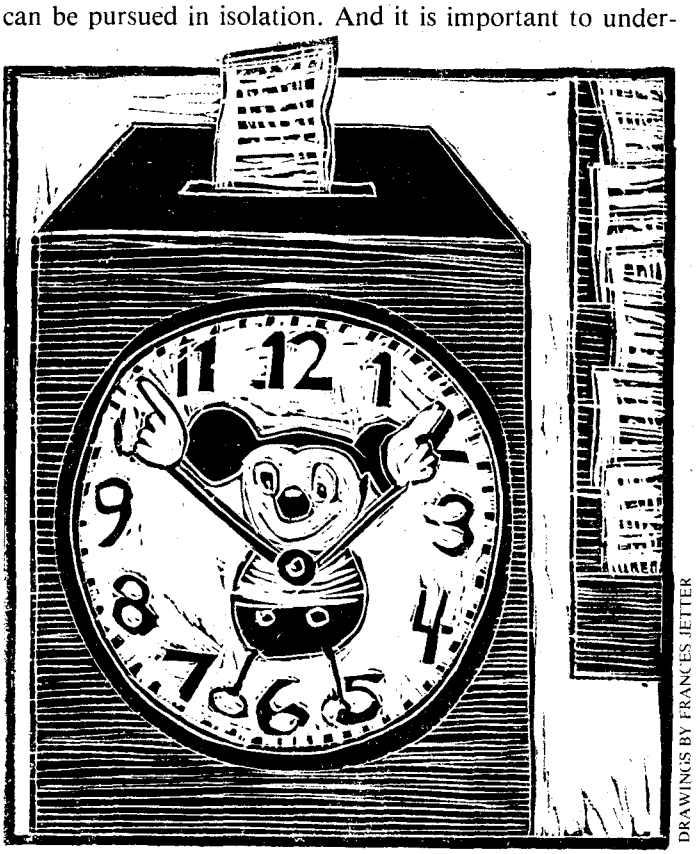
§ A fiscal policy that would yield enough taxes (and reduce the rate of growth in defense spending) to allow interest rates to come down and tight money to be eased;

§ The creation of regional industrial planning and financing institutions that would help revitalize old industries and accelerate investment in new fields;

§ Investment in schooling and training programs designed to prepare workers for the jobs of the future;

§ A large-scale effort to put jobless Americans to work on public tasks while the recession persists.

Each of these elements is critical to full employment. None can be pursued in isolation. And it is important to under-



DRAWINGS BY FRANCES JETTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stand as well that implementing these ideas requires more than money or Federal programs. It requires a new spirit of cooperation between business, labor, government and citizens. It requires Presidential leadership to inspire and guide local initiative. And it requires a willingness to tax and spend, not just on the programs of the past but on approaches that profit from our mistakes and replicate our successes.

Since virtually none of these policies will be adopted so long as Reagan is President, perhaps the best we can hope for in the short run is that misdirected proposals like the suggested changes in the child labor standards will stimulate informed debate as to what is really involved in a human capital-development strategy for America. □

ISRAEL & THE 'WAR MACHINE'

A Military Boomerang

BOAS EVRON

One of the unforeseen consequences of Israel's invasion of Lebanon has been its deleterious effect on the motivation of the Israeli Army. The Israeli Defense Force (I.D.F.) is a true people's army. It is not a "war machine," an inanimate contraption to be used at will. Apart from its core of regulars and national service conscripts (who have their own political opinions), in times of emergency it consists mostly of mobilized civilian reservists (who do not leave their political opinions and feelings at home when they don their uniforms). Despite the diversity of their views, the members of the I.D.F. cooperate with one another and display the qualities that make the I.D.F. one of the world's most effective fighting forces. This is not because of any iron discipline inculcated into its members but because all the wars that Israel has waged until the current one could be presented convincingly as wars of defense (with the possible exception of the 1956 Sinai-Suez action).

The war in Lebanon is the first Israeli war wholly planned in advance and initiated by Israel itself. It is the first war whose objectives have nothing to do with national survival. Israel's mobilized citizenry has always been prepared to fight in defense of its homeland. But the real aim of the war is the annexation of the West Bank and the implementation of Ariel Sharon's grand design, and those who oppose these aims—and they number many tens of thousands—have begun to question aloud why they should kill and be killed for them.

The government has tried again and again to delude the public into believing that this is "a war of survival." For instance, it has inflated the estimates of the quantities of war matériel captured in P.L.O. arsenals, and it has given the operation the misleading code name "Peace for Galilee." These ploys were transparent and soon collapsed, so the government was finally forced to organize a demonstration on its own behalf to counterbalance the mammoth (by Israeli terms) Peace Now rally in Tel Aviv on July 3, thus proving better than any counterargument could that, in this war, it is backed by only a part of the people.

Disagreement within the military is even more pronounced than it is among civilians. Many of the members of the elite military units and the air force are recruited from kibbutzim and moshavim and Labor supporters, who have strong reservations about the war. According to reports, even some Gush Emunim adherents, like the paratrooper son of Minister of the Interior Yossef Borg, have undergone a change of heart when faced with the shock of war. And on July 26 the momentous news broke that Col. Eli Geva, commander of an armored brigade and one of the most brilliant young officers in the army, resigned his post rather than having to refuse a possible order to advance into West Beirut, a measure he considers superfluous and a violation of the dictates of his conscience. As Geva said, "I could not look bereaved parents in the face and tell them that their son died in an unnecessary battle."

Some Israeli superpatriots have raised the argument: why is only Israel barred from playing the game of power politics and using force to advance what it sees as its national interest? After all, they ask, practically every nation has waged an aggressive war at one time or another, so why not Israel?

This argument is clearly immoral. And it is a fact that, as a rule, the people as a whole can be mobilized for war only if they can be persuaded that a supreme existential interest is at stake. The first national mobilization of modern times, that of the French in 1792 (when the term "the armed nation" was coined), took place to defend the revolution. Even Stalin succeeded in mobilizing the Soviet people for war against Hitler only when they realized that a German victory would not merely be a military defeat but would spell enslavement and annihilation. When a nation is mobilized for a war that many of its citizens consider superfluous or immoral, its army is liable to confront the same problems that plagued the U.S. Army during the Vietnam War.

The people as a whole cannot be mobilized in support of wars conducted for some political advantage. These wars are best waged by professional standing armies, by mercenaries, by "foreign legions" and the like. Professional armies accept death or injury in battle as occupational hazards and need no ideological motivation. But the people at large cannot be expected to shed their blood for the ambitions of politicians.

Those who expect Israel to engage in "power game" wars fail to realize that the Israeli Defense Force was not created for that purpose. The word "Defense" in its official designation is not just another word, but an expression of its ideological basis. A government that wishes to indulge in such wars simply cannot use the I.D.F. without causing it irreparable harm. It should build an army of a different type, a professional army of volunteers. But this would not be the I.D.F. any longer, nor would it have the I.D.F.'s

Boas Evron is an Israeli writer and commentator for Yediot Aharonot, *a leading daily in Israel.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moral commitment and military power. Prime Minister Begin and General Sharon may not understand that this war, and the excuses and lies under which it is being waged, have struck the most devastating blow ever inflicted on the army of Israel. It is not a military blow, but a blow to the very social and psychological bases of consent on which the I.D.F.'s tremendous power rests, and as such it is worse than a military defeat. The insidious results of this blow will haunt us for many years, and its costs will be incalculable. □

THE VIEW FROM N.C.

Civil Rights, The Klan & Reagan Justice

WILLIAM K. TABB AND MARTHA NATHAN

For several months, a Federal grand jury in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, has been hearing evidence in the killings of five political activists and labor leaders at a demonstration in Greensboro on November 3, 1979. The grand jury was impaneled after six men, all members of the Ku Klux Klan and the American Nazi Party, were acquitted of murder charges in a state court. But it was only after a year and a half of pressure in the form of marches, petitions and letters that the Justice Department finally convened a grand jury.

In May 1981, H.M. Michaux Jr., then the U.S. Attorney for the Middle District of North Carolina, made public the fact that he had sent recommendations to the Justice Department months before asking that Federal civil rights "conspiracy charges" be brought in the case. There was no response from Washington. In November 1981, Prof. William Van Alstyne of the Duke University School of Law, an expert on constitutional law who served with the Justice Department during the Kennedy Administration, testified before Rep. John Conyers's Subcommittee on Criminal Justice that the Greensboro case presented an opportunity to seek a Federal indictment under four civil rights statutes. A coalition of sixteen Greensboro community groups sent representatives to Washington this January to ask Conyers to investigate both the case and the Justice Department's inaction. One month later, in response to criticism of the department's civil rights record, Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds told reporters that the civil rights division was planning to take action on the Greensboro case and on the attempted assassination of Urban League president Vernon Jordan. Two weeks after Reynolds's remarks, the Justice Department issued a press release announcing the impaneling of the North Carolina grand jury.

The civil rights division's foot dragging in the Greensboro shootings was not the first example of the Justice Department's reluctance to bring Federal charges in cases of racially motivated violence after state authorities have failed to bring the accused to justice. Other examples include a Klan shooting in Chattanooga, Tennessee, a lynching in Mobile, Alabama, and the dozens of instances of police brutality against blacks that have occurred since Ronald Reagan took office. But the department's failure to act in Greensboro was the most egregious of all. The killings were carried out in broad daylight before scores of eyewitnesses and millions of television viewers. Thus, many argued that the local jury's not-guilty verdict was a green light for racist and anti-Semitic violence.

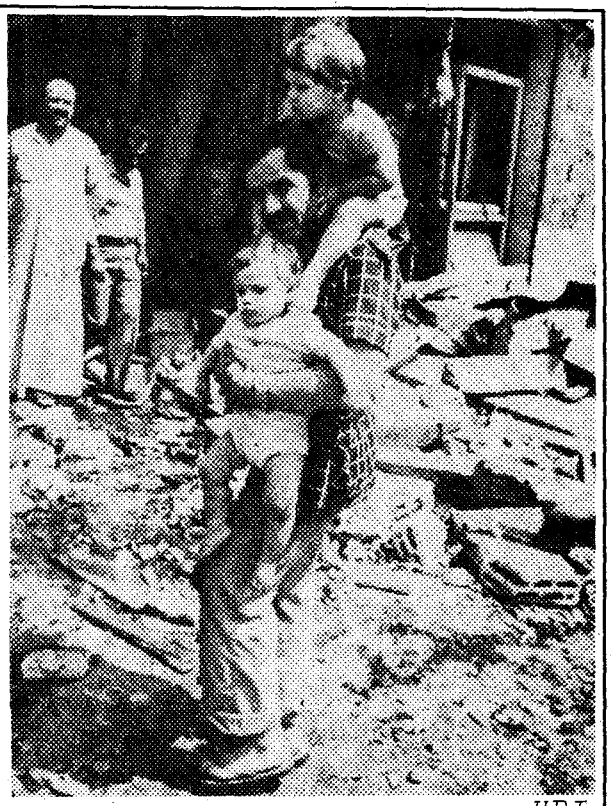
The issues in the Greensboro case, however, go beyond the rise of the Klan and the Nazi Party to official complicity in political assassinations. Among those killed in Greensboro were three prominent union organizers in the textile industry, all members of the Communist Workers Party. One of them, Jim Waller, who had led a strike at a nearby plant, was president of his local. A Klansman and friend of one of the participants in the shootings told reporters that the Nazis had decided ahead of time "who was to be shot."

Before the state trial opened, it was common knowledge in Greensboro that Bernard Butkovich, an agent of the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, had participated in Nazi Party planning sessions prior to the attack. Party members told the press that he had encouraged them to bring guns to the demonstration and that, immediately

William K. Tabb is an associate professor of economics at Queens College and author of The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto *(W. W. Norton). Martha Nathan, M.D., the director of the Greensboro Justice Fund, is the widow of Dr. Michael Nathan, who was killed on November 3, 1979.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Urgent Humanitarian Appeal for the People of Lebanon



UPI

The grim count of civilian casualties in Lebanon goes on. Ten thousand killed. A quarter of a million people homeless. Schools and hospitals smashed by bombs and shells.

Seventeen thousand civilians are wounded, according to the Lebanese police. Doctors at the American University Hospital in Beirut report amputating 1,100 limbs in a single day! *

There is an immediate need for food, water, shelter, clothing and medical supplies—the rudimentary necessities of life.

Oxfam America is there, with a field team already in Lebanon and working to meet the desperate needs of civilian casualties and displaced persons of every nationality and faith.

We must have your help to end the suffering and begin to restore the people of Lebanon to a life of hope. As in Kampuchea (Cambodia), Somalia, El Salvador and the other war zones in which we work, Oxfam America is capable of administering humanitarian aid quickly and effectively.

Please give as generously as you can. Telexed reports from our staff in Beirut state emphatically: $100 now is worth more than $1,000 later! Send your tax-deductible contribution today to:

Lebanon Relief and Reconstruction Fund
Oxfam America
115 Broadway
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

* Figures from *New York Times, Newsweek* and CBS News

☐ Yes! I want to help the uprooted civilian population of Lebanon. Here's my tax-deductible gift to Oxfam America's **Lebanon Relief and Reconstruction Fund.**

☐ $_____ ☐ $1,000 ☐ $500 ☐ $100 ☐ $50

☐ Yes! You may use my name as a sponsor in this urgent appeal.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Oxfam America

115 Broadway, Boston, Massachusetts 02116 (617) 482-1211

NA

Oxfam America is a non-sectarian, non-profit agency supporting disaster relief and self-help development projects in 21 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. A full audited financial report is available from Oxfam America or, for New York State residents, from the Department of State, Office of Charities Registration, Albany, NY 12231.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after the shootings, he offered shelter to those trying to hide from the police. He also suggested burning down the house of a jailed Nazi Party member who was also a police informant, saying he would make it look as though the Communist Workers Party had set the fire. Butkovich disappeared the day after the shootings. The bureau has refused to comment on his role in the events in Greensboro except to say that the Washington office had been "monitoring closely" his activities.

Further suspicions as to the role of law-enforcement officials in the killings are raised by the fact that Edward Dawson, a longtime member of the Klan as well as a paid informant of the Greensboro Police Department and former F.B.I. informant, organized the Klan-Nazi caravan and led it on the day of the shootings. On the morning of the demonstration he told the police, "Everybody has a gun." Knowing this, two police officers in an unmarked car followed the caravan as it moved toward the C.W.P. anti-Klan march's starting point in a black neighborhood. They made no attempt to prevent the attack or to warn the C.W.P. demonstrators. Instead, they took photographs of the shootings.

A number of mysteries surround the way the case has been handled at both the state and the Federal level. Neither Butkovich nor Dawson was indicted or called to testify in the state trial. Furthermore, in an interview with the F.B.I. prior to the grand jury probe, a textile worker claimed that she had been approached by F.B.I. agents and asked to identify a photograph of one of her co-workers, Sandi Smith, a week before Smith was shot and killed at the demonstration. The F.B.I., which stated that it had been investigating the C.W.P. immediately prior to the attack, has since maintained that no such investigation occurred.

Justice in the Greensboro case means more than jailing those who pulled the triggers. It means clarifying the role of local and Federal authorities in the massacre. Beyond the important task of bringing the full force of the law to bear against Klan and Nazi brutality, the grand jury must bring to justice any agents, informants and officials who contributed to this tragic crime.

Instead, the Justice Department has done everything it could to stall a civil rights suit brought by the families of the victims against the Federal agents involved. Acting as attorney for the agents, the department filed a motion to dismiss the suit and blocked testimony by Dawson and Raeford Caudle, another Nazi Party member, in the pretrial discovery process.

Because of the Justice Department's clear conflict of interest—North Carolina F.B.I. agents are acting as field investigators in a case in which the Bureau may have been involved—we can have little confidence that it will impartially present the relevant evidence to the grand jury. As a result, lawyers for the families have made a request to the U.S. Attorney General that a special prosecutor be appointed to the grand jury.

A fundamental issue is raised by the Greensboro case: Can members of right-wing groups, with the collusion of government agents, kill those with whom they disagree and get away with it? The answer so far appears to have been yes. The Federal grand jury in Greensboro must act to preserve the civil rights of all Americans. □

THE HOUSING CRISIS

Dreams and Nightmares

PETER DREIER

Nothing better symbolizes the end of postwar prosperity in the United States than the fading American dream of homeownership. In recent years, the dream has become a nightmare for a growing number of Americans, and the housing crisis has become political dynamite that may soon explode.

The current housing crisis—the worst since the Depression—provides an opportunity for the nation to rethink the way it provides (or doesn't provide) shelter. We can continue to rely on the private sector (basically a Federally subsidized free-market system), devising various tax and subsidy schemes to bribe banks and builders. Or we can define housing as a basic right and find new ways to finance and build that rely more directly on public funds.

President Reagan picked housing for his first major confrontation with Congress this year. On June 24, he vetoed a $3 billion mortgage subsidy program that had been overwhelmingly approved by both the House and the Senate. The measure had strong bipartisan support. The Senate version, which was sponsored by two leading conservatives, Richard Lugar of Indiana and Jake Garn of Utah, passed 73 to 19. The House version passed 257 to 155. In an election year, the pols obviously wanted to be able to tell their constituents that they had voted for the American dream of owning a home.

The Lugar-Garn proposal was a jerry-built approach. It was devised more to benefit the builders, realtors, mortgage bankers and construction unions than to help the American homeowner. The bill, which would have reduced mortgage interest rates from the current 17 percent to a minimum of 11 percent, would hardly have made a dent in the housing crisis. It would have helped only an estimated 250,000 middle-class families buy houses over the next five years. Housing experts say that more than 2 million units a year must be built during the next decade to meet the nation's housing needs. About half that many will be built this year.

The idea of subsidizing private industry and banks so that they will build and finance housing is nothing new; it has been the basis of government housing policy since the end of World War II. At that time, when there was a tremendous

Peter Dreier is an assistant professor of sociology at Tufts University. He is currently writing a book, The Renters' Revolt, *with John Atlas, to be published by Temple University Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pent-up demand for new housing, many reformers urged that the government take another course—that it treat housing as a public right rather than as a private commodity and that it directly underwrite the costs of borrowing, construction and ownership as well as control land and building materials costs. But it did not, and we are now reaping the bitter harvest of policies sown in the 1940s.

The White House virtuously chastised the Lugar-Garn bill as "a bailout for one sector" and "deficit-defying, budget-busting." But the Reagan answer to the problem is to deny that there is a problem. This reflects the prevailing wisdom among neoconservatives that Americans are "over-housed" and that building new houses should no longer be a top priority. In fact, in a recent report, the President's Commission on Housing called for minimal government intervention and "free and deregulated markets." In other words, the poor can sleep under a bridge. Anthony Downs of the Brookings Institution echoed this view when he wrote that the United States "has been investing more capital in financing housing than is good for us." According to this perspective, mortgage money should be diverted to industry and put to work modernizing plants and equipment so the United States can better compete in world markets. The housing industry will have to make it without much government help—which will be difficult to do. Jeffrey P. Payson, chairman of Houston's General Homes Inc., a major home builder, laments: "We're going to be competing for capital against U.S. Steel and A.T.&T. It isn't going to be much of a fight."

Rather than decry this situation, housing-industry apologists like George Sternlieb, director of the Center for Urban Policy Research at Rutgers University, are counseling Americans to lower their expectations—to tighten their belts and learn to pay more for less. The mass media reflect these ideas with stories about young couples spending half their combined incomes on no-frills bungalows; college graduates living with their parents rather than moving into their own apartments; elderly and poor people doubling-up in overcrowded dwellings; and first-time home buyers purchasing spartanly appointed condominiums instead of single-family houses with patios, walk-in closets and the numerous gadgets their parents took for granted. *Parade* magazine recently ran a story entitled "Our Incredible Shrinking Homes." Financial columnist Sylvia Porter advises readers: "Downgrade your housing dreams for a while. Share space. Rent. Consider a mobile home." Porter and other advocates of lowered expectations say they are merely suggesting a compensatory austerity after three decades of housing overindulgence. The days of exaggerated housing expectations are over, says Herbert Gray, chairman of Boston's Mutual Bank for Savings, and "the reckoning has come."

That reckoning could be politically explosive, as a look at the institutions and players in the housing game makes clear.

The Housing Industry. The housing industry is in a serious slump. Fewer houses will be built this year than in any year since the late 1940s. Many small firms are going under. The industry has yet to take full advantage of cost- and energy-saving mass-production techniques, in part because of the crazy quilt of local building codes. Private construction of rental units is at a virtual standstill, and Reagan's 1983 tax package—which broadened the already-generous tax shelters available to investors in new apartment buildings—will probably not add many units. Instead, developers are converting existing apartment buildings into condominiums and co-ops (there have been about 500,000 such conversions in the past five years). Almost all of the rental housing built in the past decade has been government subsidized—and Reagan is cutting back these subsidies. The National Association of Realtors reports a 10 percent decline in membership in less than a year. Unemployment among construction and lumber workers is about 20 percent.

The Savings and Loan Industry. The savings and loan industry, which finances the construction and purchase of most single-family houses, is moribund. Some savings and loans have gone bankrupt recently, and others have had to merge in order to survive. (Last year alone there were 217 such mergers.)

Rather than putting their savings in low-interest savings and loan accounts, many people are putting them in money market funds. New Federal regulations allow mortgage lenders to make nonhousing investments and to issue variable-rate instead of fixed-rate mortgages. As a result, mortgage money is now less available and more expensive.

Home Ownership. With the average price of a single-family house almost $80,000, compared with $23,400 in 1970, fewer than 10 percent of American families can afford to purchase one (using the rule of thumb that one-quarter of a household's income should be spent on shelter). In the 1950s, two-thirds of all families could. In many parts of the country, mortgage costs alone consume half a family's income. As a result, almost the only people who can afford to buy a house are those who already own one. A recent study by the U.S. League of Savings Associations notes that first-time home buyers made up 36.3 percent of all purchasers in 1977 and only 13.5 percent in 1981. Couples are taking on several jobs to keep up the payments on their homes. Even so, many cannot hold on to the dream. According to the Mortgage Bankers Association of America, 5.4 percent of all mortgages were in arrears by thirty days or more during the first quarter of this year, and there were about 100,000 mortgages in foreclosure between January and March—both post-World War II records.

Rental Housing. Because of the soaring costs of home-ownership, an increasing number of middle-class people, especially members of the baby-boom generation, are reluctantly joining the ranks of renters, which have heretofore been limited primarily to the poor, minorities and the elderly. And the competition for rental housing is fierce. The vacancy rate nationwide is now less than the "emergency" level of 5 percent—a postwar low. As a result, rents are skyrocketing, apartment owners are reducing repairs and maintenance, and more and more renters are tenants "at will," since landlords do not wish to be locked into long-term leases that stabilize rents.

With rents rising faster than wages, 53 percent of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nation's tenants spent more than one-quarter of their income for housing in 1980—compared with 40 percent a decade earlier. And more than one-third spent at least 35 percent of their income just to keep a roof over their heads. The poor, who are least able to cut corners on other items, suffer most from the housing crunch. Among tenants who make less than $10,000 a year, 82.5 percent spent more than one-fourth of their income for housing.

The other side of this burgeoning class of long-term renters is a growing tenants' rights movement. In the past five years, tenant organizations have mushroomed across the country. The momentum for rent control (now in place in more than 200 cities) and protection against "condo-mania" is escalating dramatically.

Subsidized Housing. The Reagan Administration is abandoning the Federal government's long-standing commitment to provide housing for the poor. It has increased public housing rents from 25 percent of a tenant's income to 30 percent—in part by counting food stamps as income. The President has cut back operating funds for public housing and has impounded construction funds. With Federal approval, many local housing authorities are preparing to sell the most desirable public housing projects to private developers, who will probably either raze them or turn them into luxury buildings. The Section 8 rent-subsidy program, which serves 1.3 million households, will be replaced by a much smaller "housing voucher" program. Unlike Section 8, the new program will neither build more housing nor regulate the rents landlords can charge. It will simply hand over taxpayers' money to private landlords, who charge prevailing rents.

The Homeless. During the past few years, homelessness has become a serious problem in many of our nation's cities. An increasing number of individuals—and even entire families—are sleeping in parks, train stations, doorways, alleys and abandoned cars and buildings. Social welfare agencies estimate there are 3,000 homeless people in Boston and 35,000 in New York City. And they are not just Skid Row alcoholics. They are people with nowhere to go, people who can't afford to rent, and they outnumber the places available in emergency shelters and in the vanishing inventory of public and subsidized housing. Many of them are among the 2.5 million people who, according to a recent study by Richard LeGates and Chester Hartman for the Legal Services Corporation, are displaced each year by gentrification, arson, abandonment, condo conversions, institutional expansion and other so-called "market forces." Some observers predict that the housing crisis will soon precipitate rent riots and squatters battles.

Given the severity of the problem, it is time to rethink the present system. There *are* alternatives.

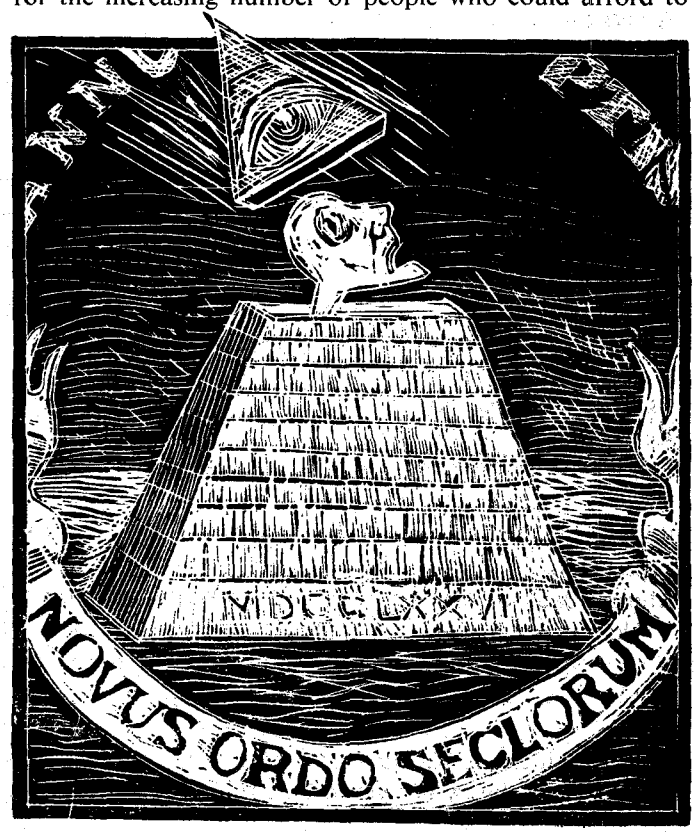
In the late 1930s and the years immediately following World War II, policy makers gave in to the real estate, banking and automobile lobbies and agreed to guarantee the housing industry's profits if it built a certain amount of housing. The theory was that an expanding economy would enable consumers to buy houses on the private market. And so the Federal government insured mortgage lenders from default with Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration loans. Highway building programs opened up the suburbs for speculation and development, thus triggering the exodus of the middle class from the cities.

The Internal Revenue Service encourages homeownership by providing deductions for property taxes and mortgage interest payments. This year alone, the homeowner subsidy will cost the Federal government $39 billion in lost taxes—more than the entire 1982 budget of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Moreover, these benefits are extremely regressive: about 30 percent of them go to taxpayers with incomes above $50,000, who make up less than 5 percent of the population.

Fearing competition from public housing (which it claimed was the opening wedge of socialism), the real estate industry sabotaged it. The original proponents of public housing intended it to be for the middle class as well as for the poor, but Congress gave in to industry pressure to limit it to the very poor. And by constructing buildings that can best be described as warehouses, the industry insured that "government housing" would carry the stigma of poverty, thus discouraging middle-class people from demanding it for themselves.

Since the late 1940s, the housing industry, the trade unions, poor people's advocates and housing activists have been joined in an uneasy alliance in support of a housing policy based on subsidies and tax breaks for bankers and home builders. The progressives differed from the others only in demanding that the government forbid racial discrimination and enforce minimal safety and health standards.

For several decades, this policy seemed to work—at least for the increasing number of people who could afford to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

own their own homes. The proportion of American homeowners rose from 44 percent of all households in 1940 to about 65 percent in the mid-1970s. But the strategy of relying solely on private industry to meet the nation's housing needs was predicated on housing prices that most people could afford. As economist Michael Stone explains in his forthcoming book, *Shelter Poverty*, housing capitalists (mortgage lenders, real estate developers, home builders and landlords) charged whatever the market would bear, while employers kept wages and salaries as low as they could. The crunch was inevitable, and it came in the mid-1970s. Economic growth stopped, wages and salaries leveled off and most people could not afford to buy houses.

What, then, is to be done? Drawing on the ideas of activists like Chester Hartman, Michael Stone, Cushing Dolbeare, Richard Applebaum, Emily Achtenburg and Peter Marcuse, leaders of the Planners Network (a national organization of progressive architects, academics and planners headquartered at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, D.C.), a fresh approach to the housing crisis can be developed. Such an approach must attack rising housing costs at the source: high interest rates, expensive land and speculative pressures in the resale market.

The centerpiece of a progressive housing policy is the replacement of the private mortgage market with a system of direct government grants and low-interest loans to encourage the building of limited-equity cooperative housing and the rehabilitation of existing housing. Rather than going to private entrepreneurs, the loans would be channeled to nonprofit, community-based developers (trade unions, religious groups and other organizations), which would grant lifetime leases to tenant cooperatives and residents of single-family houses. Tenants would enjoy all the benefits of ownership save the right to sell their homes for profit, and they would be immune from the threat of eviction or foreclosure. The no-resale limitation would eliminate the major cause of housing inflation: mortgage payments that are hiked upward each time a house is sold. In the meantime, the Federal government would impose strict regulations on private mortgage lenders, requiring them to set low interest rates for nonprofit and low-income housing and higher rates for luxury housing. Tax advantages would be offered to induce worker pension funds to invest in limited-equity cooperative housing.

Another way to reduce housing inflation would be to set up nonprofit "land banks" and "land trusts," which would enable municipalities to acquire and hold land for future development, thus preventing it from falling into the hands of speculators. And the spiraling number of mortgage defaults could be partially checked by allowing financially troubled homeowners and landlords to sell their homes and buildings to the government or to nonprofit organizations. The sellers would be granted the right of lifetime occupancy at affordable rents, while the purchasers would assume the mortgages.

Changes in the tax laws could also discourage speculation. For example, Congress could abolish the myriad tax shelters now available to the affluent and replace them with tax credits for both owners and renters, and it could impose a ceiling on the homeowner deduction. Local governments could institute rent control and anti-speculation taxes (which would penalize those who buy and sell land and houses for quick profits).

All of these strategies have been successful in Europe and in parts of the United States. But it is not enough to devise progressive policies and programs. There must be a political movement willing to fight for them. The current housing crisis is in part a result of the failure of progressives to mobilize for that fight.

In pushing for change, housing activists cannot count on their old allies, who would have much to lose if reforms were implemented. The start-up costs of the kinds of programs progressive groups advocate should not be underestimated, and the rearrangement of budgetary and social priorities would indeed be jarring. Because of that, housing activists must find allies within civil rights, trade union, environmental, peace and community groups, and they must see themselves as part of a coalition working toward broad social change.

With the middle class now facing the dismal reality of skyrocketing housing costs, the poor bearing the brunt of the housing crunch, and unprecedented unemployment within the housing industry sending ripples throughout the economy, the political basis for that coalition now exists. More and more politicians may want to jump on the housing bandwagon. But they will have to steer it in a new direction lest it crash—and take the American dream with it. □

The Deficit

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

cent of Washington's take, and payroll taxes (which are notoriously regressive) had climbed to 24.5 percent. Big business's share of the tax load, meanwhile, had fallen to 15.5 percent. In other words, the Internal Revenue Service was drawing 77 percent of its collections from personal income taxes. For every $5 in Federal revenues paid by individuals, big business paid $1. By 1980, the corporations' share was 13.9 percent, and this should drop another percentage point or two once all the tax breaks written into the Reagan Administration's "economic recovery program" have taken hold.

The massive transfer of the tax burden from business to individual taxpayers has been a steady process throughout the postwar years, occurring under Democratic and Republican administrations alike. Some years, major tax breaks were handed to business, but minor "reforms" were enacted nearly every year. There has been nothing secret about the write-offs made available to corporations. The important ones—generous depreciation allowances, credits for

John McDermott, a professor of labor studies and the coordinator of the labor studies program at the College of Old Westbury, is the author of The Crisis in the Working Class *(South End Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taxes paid to foreign governments, deferrals of taxes on overseas profits and the like—are vaguely familiar to most people. Taken together, however, they have had an important and little-understood effect. They have made it relatively easy for businesses to write off their capital assets—plants, land, machinery—and convert them into liquid assets in the form of tax refunds. Tax write-offs also shield a portion of a company's profits from those who would normally have a claim on them—the I.R.S., workers, suppliers and shareholders. Management is free to dispose of these retained profits more or less as it wishes. Multinational corporations, for instance, can shift the money to overseas branches. As a result, nearly half of all U.S. corporate profits never find their way onto the balance sheet.

The retention of huge sums in unencumbered liquid assets, mainly by U.S.-based multinationals, has contributed to the "decapitalization" of American industry—that is, the failure to maintain current industrial assets and the refusal to improve or replace them. It has also triggered the wave of corporate acquisitions, the outbreaks of currency and commodity speculation and the rapid expansion in the Third World that have marked the past decade. The recent proliferation of corporate political action committees, which will spend an estimated $80 million in the next Presidential election, must also be attributed in part to the cash that is swelling corporate coffers.

To be sure, the great tax giveaway to business has been carried out for an ostensibly sound economic reason: it is supposed to "encourage investment." But even a few economists, a generally conservative breed, have questioned the assumption that business will recycle untaxed profits into new plants and equipment. In a 1976 Brookings Institution study, for example, it was argued that the investment tax credit in the manufacturing sector alone cost the U.S. treasury $13.7 billion in uncollected revenues from 1954 through 1966. Yet the credit generated only $4.8 billion in new investment during those years.

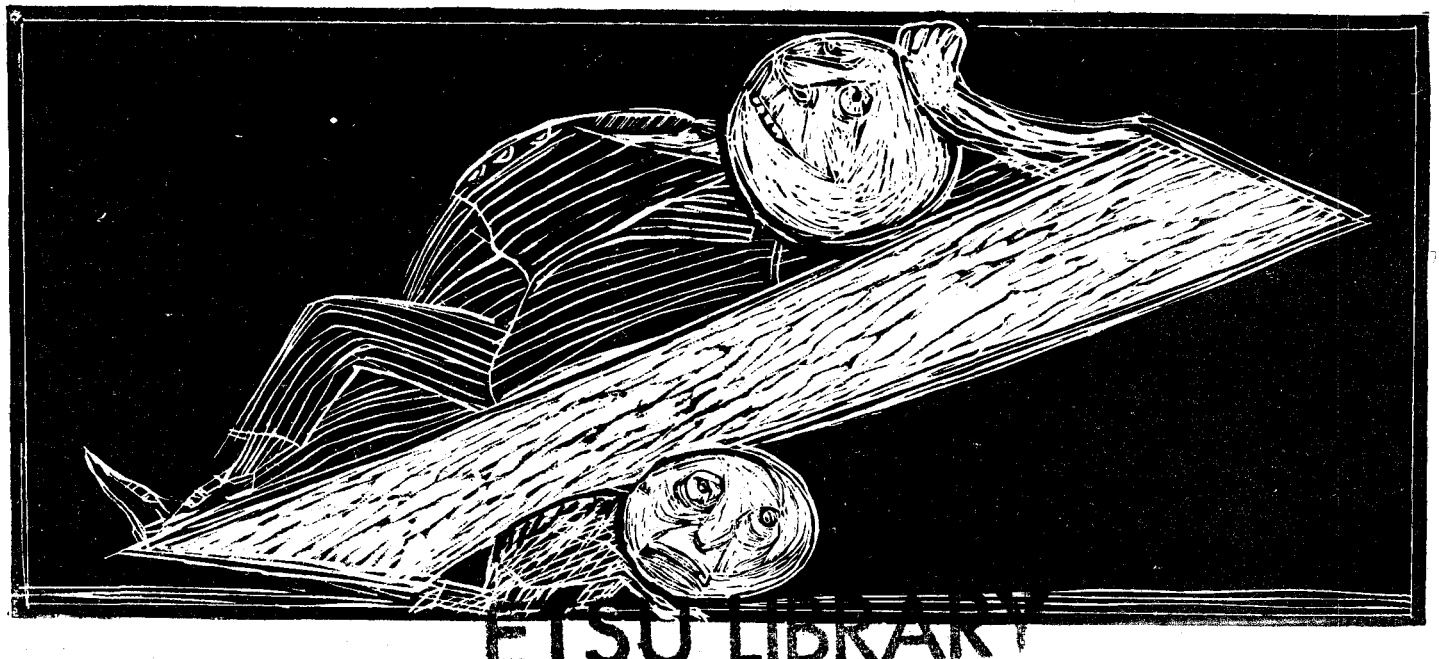
Tax breaks for corporations have not only failed to produce the investment flow they were supposed to; they have also had the unforeseen effect of causing a rightward shift in American politics. Beginning in the 1970s, the perception among many Americans that they were being forced to bear a heavier tax burden has been translated into a backlash against government spending.

Imagine two people pushing a car up a hill. One of them isn't pushing very hard, so the other has to make more of an effort. To him, the hill seems to be getting steeper, the load heavier. At some point, the harder pusher (read "taxpayer") is bound to say, "This is too much for me. I've got to figure out another way." Enter Ronald Reagan, offering to lighten his burden by slashing wasteful and unnecessary spending.

The chronic hard times of the 1970s, which increased the Federal deficit, have thrown liberals on the defensive. The debate on the causes of the deficit focused on Federal spending, and the supply-siders in the White House and in Congress rammed through their tax cuts. The questions in the debate were framed in terms favorable to the right. First, should we have bigger deficits or cuts in spending? Answer: cuts in spending. Second, should the reductions be in social programs or in the defense budget? Answer: social programs.

The best way to alter the terms of the debate is to calculate the long-range effect of tax policies on the national debt. In the 1970s, U.S. corporations paid a total of $470.2 billion in taxes, or 16 percent of Federal tax collected. In the 1960s, they paid roughly 22 percent of Federal tax collected. Had corporations paid the same share of Federal receipts in the 1970s as they did in the previous decade, the government would have collected an additional $171.3 billion and would have saved an estimated $64.9 billion in interest payments on the money it borrowed to make up the difference. Thus the effect of tax changes during the 1970s was to divert $171.3 billion from the Federal treasury into the coffers of private corporations and to shift an additional $64.9 billion to big banks. And the national debt grew by just over $500 billion.

Since the 1960s were prosperous years for big business, the 22 percent burden was apparently not harmful. The

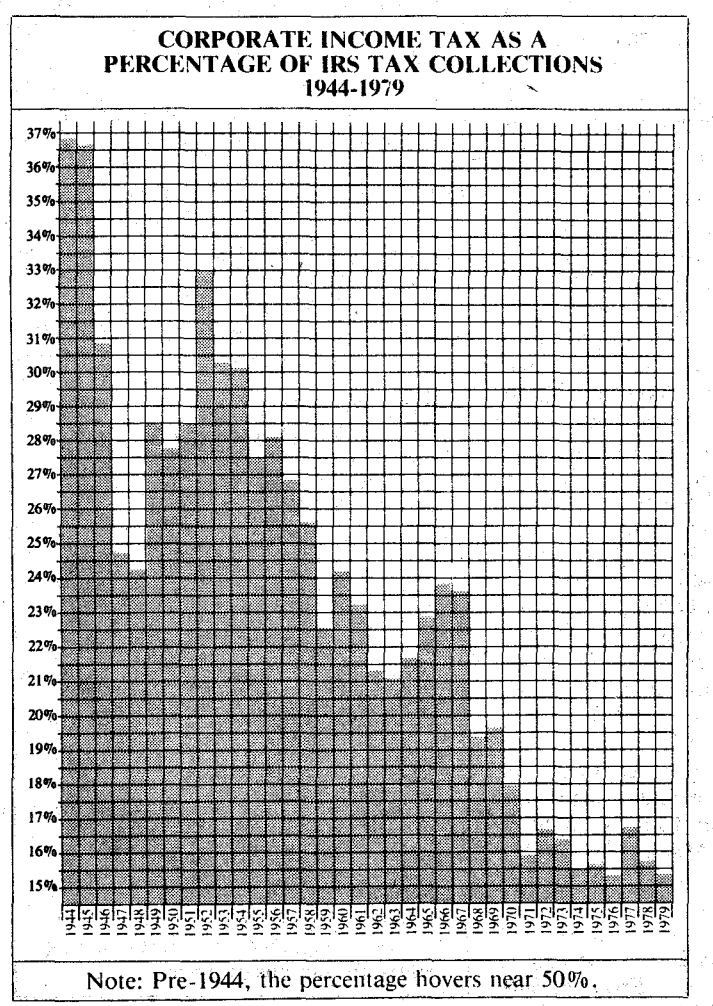


ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1950s were also banner years for big business—indeed, just about the best ever. During that decade business paid about 28 percent of all Federal taxes collected. Had it continued to pay the same share throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the Federal treasury would have gained $424.5 billion more than it did and there would have been a further savings on interest of an estimated $215 billion. Thus, changes in Federal tax policy from 1960 to 1980 deflected $639.5 billion from the U.S. treasury.

In 1980, the total Federal debt stood at $907.7 billion, having grown by $616.8 billion in the previous two decades. The significance of that shift of $639.5 billion to big business becomes apparent. We can account for the entire rise in the Federal debt in terms of tax reductions that benefited big business and big banks.

This analysis of the causes of the huge Federal deficit and of the Federal debt itself is admittedly unorthodox. Orthodox liberals single out expenditures for defense and for related space and foreign military-aid programs as the culprits. Yet during the 1970s, when the Federal debt grew rapidly, defense expenditures as a percentage of the gross national product even fell a bit. Perhaps more to the point is the fact that much, if not most, of the money turned back to big corporations and big banks finds its way overseas. There, the immense new flow of funds to international corporations pays for their aggressive expansion in the Third World. And that expansion is dependent on a U.S. foreign policy that is forever finding points of conflict: unceasingly with the Soviet Union and Cuba; yesterday with Vietnam, Chile and Iran; today with El Salvador, Nicaragua and even Grenada; tomorrow with some new threat to the subsidizing of private economic power.



Note: Pre-1944, the percentage hovers near 50%.

Orthodox conservatives prefer to blame the deficit on excessive spending on social programs. But in recent years the United States has spent only about 12 percent of its G.N.P. on social programs, compared with those paragons of fiscal rectitude, Japan, which allocates almost 20 percent to such programs, and West Germany, which spends 30 percent.

Progressives must no longer allow the issue to be framed in terms of spending policies, and they must no longer take part in the search for the magic number that would denote the "right" proportion of the G.N.P. to be spent on the poor and the needy. For those who oppose the dismantling of the welfare state at home and the intensification of conflict with the Soviet Union abroad, the problem is political. In the past, liberals made a tacit deal with business, the terms of which could be summarized as follows: "If you'll let us expand the welfare state, you needn't worry that we'll make you pay for it with your taxes." Business was excused from bearing its fair share of the cost on the theory that it would create an ever-expanding economic pie that would enable real wages to rise along with revenues.

The shift of the tax burden from corporations to individual taxpayers, and the consequences of that shift, should become a political issue for progressives. It gives them a compelling argument against conservative preachments that profligate social spending is the root of the deficit evil. Once this argument is met, the way will be clear to restore social programs to the national agenda. When voters realize that business has not been pulling its weight, they will likely reject its claim that profits are falling and that deeper cuts in corporate taxes and in workers' wages and benefits are needed to stimulate investment. When business says it has no money to invest and writes off important industrial assets (along with jobs) at the same time as it engages in an orgy of mergers and takeovers, commodity and currency speculation, and expansion overseas into low-wage areas, the conservatives' arguments for low corporate taxes simply don't wash. The real issue is democratic control over private economic power. A fair tax policy would allow social programs and moderate tax cuts to individuals to go hand in hand.

To sum up: government cannot be counted on to improve living conditions, solve social problems or even maintain the minimal public services that are necessary to a decent life for all Americans if the wealthiest sector of the economy is allowed to evade its share of the tax burden. Second, the arms race and an aggressive, interventionist foreign policy are inevitable so long as corporate expansion overseas is subsidized by U.S. tax dollars. Corporate dollars spent abroad must ever be guarded by Pentagon dollars. Finally, progressives must abandon their tacit alliance with big business, which allows business to devolve its share of taxes upon the rest of us; to continue this unholy alliance is to acquiesce in their own political suicide. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 130*)
slaughtered by Israeli soldiers and American weapons. More unfortunately, *The Nation* has chosen to share in that silence.

Miriam Rosen

BLAMING THE VICTIMS

Seattle

As a *Nation* reader who has supported the Jewish peace movement for ten years, I would like to take issue with the editorials by Denise Levertov and Jacobo Timerman, which manage indirectly to blame the Palestinian and Lebanese victims for, in Levertov's words, "the disgusting and inhuman attack by Israeli forces on civilians . . ." Levertov faults a letter in *The New York Times* for failing to acknowledge "that Palestinians have also committed terrorist acts against equally innocent civilians [while acknowledging] . . . that the 'eye for an eye' . . . principle is hideous and utterly immoral." Indeed, the drafters of the letter may have realized that "an eye for an eye" was a principle of primitive justice meant to counter the truly hideous and utterly immoral principle of "100 eyes for an eye," which underlies Begin and Sharon's policies in Lebanon.

Timerman would like to believe that, had the P.L.O. recognized "Israel's right to a peaceful existence," the Israeli government would have resisted "pressure from Gen. Ariel Sharon to launch his long-expected invasion of Lebanon, which he had previously suspended four times." But one thing is clear from events in the West Bank and Gaza since 1967: the Israeli government has no intention of allowing Palestinian self-determination but is intent on incorporating those territories into a greater Israel, leaving the Palestinians a subject people. That being the case, it is doubtful that anything the P.L.O. could have said would have changed anything except Israeli rhetoric.

Martin Gouterman

TIMERMAN'S ANALYSIS FLAWED

Anchorage

Jacobo Timerman faults the P.L.O. for its failure to negotiate a settlement based on the recognition of "Israel's right to a peaceful and independent existence." According to Timerman, Yasir Arafat never attempted such a strategy because of "his totalitarian mentality."

Such an analysis is flawed by its failure to recognize the most basic facts. The 1948 occupation of Palestine by Israel was accomplished by forcefully and violently driving Palestinians from their homes. Subsequent peace was precluded by David Ben-Gurion and Moshe Dayan's provocation-revenge-annexation program. Furthermore, the P.L.O.'s maximum demand was for a secular state with equal rights for all citizens, regardless of race or religion. By what criteria is a theocratic state more democratic than a secular state? . . .

Bill Stivers

HONEST VIEWS

New York City

Congratulations for including in one *Nation* issue two articles, Jacobo Timerman's "Moment of Truth" and Denise Levertov's "Minority of One," presenting a pro-Israeli stance. They are welcome primarily for the honesty they bespeak. Somebody has finally identified Yasir Arafat's totalitarian mentality for what it is; somebody else has pointed to the anti-Semitism, not just the pro-liberationist viewpoint, of the left. Those murderous Israelis! They bombed a children's playground—where the Palestinians had positioned an antiaircraft gun! That tale can be retold endlessly. . . .

Shelly P. Koenigsberg

JEWISH VOICE FOR PEACE

Chicago

The inexcusable military expedition of the Israeli government into Lebanon may well have cut the emotional tie that has held many Jews in the United States and elsewhere (including Israel) captive in a state of political impotence. This tie has resulted in a refusal by many Jews to attack any policy of past and present Israeli governments with which they may have wholeheartedly disagreed.

There has never been a monolithic voice or view in the Jewish community toward the Israeli government, in spite of a so-called Jewish establishment that professes to speak on behalf of the Jewish community. Does the Israeli government necessarily represent the best interests of Israel—any more than the Reagan government necessarily represents the best interests of the United States? . . .

We Jews must speak out against the atrocities—the barbaric actions of the Begin government—being committed by Jews, whereby all Jews are "smeared by the same brush" and accused of actions not in the best interests of any people. Our heritage is one of being in the forefront of liberation movements and movements against injustice. Our ethical teachings demand that our voices must join the chorus of protest that has been growing, even in Israel.

Let Jewish voices for peace join non-Jewish voices for peace and demand immediate withdrawal from Lebanon, military disengagement in the Middle East and a return to the idea of a conference in Geneva of all involved parties. Let us have the courage to condemn the Israeli government when it is wrong, so that it can be put right.

Erwin A. Salk

ANSWERING BRODSKY'S CHALLENGE

Paris

Bernard Brodsky ["Letters," *The Nation*, June 26] challenges anyone to find an Arab state in which Arabs have "more political, economic and religious freedoms" than they do under Israeli rule. This is not just propaganda; it is also not very bright, since the assertion is so easy to disprove.

Except in Syria, Arabs are not being killed and maimed systematically each time a demonstration takes place, as happens all the time in the West Bank and in Gaza. Nowhere in the Arab world are (Arab or Christian or Jewish) 5- and 6-year-olds shot in the head for being in the proximity of demonstrators. In most Arab countries—Egypt, Kuwait, the Emirates, North Yemen, South Yemen, Jordan, Tunisia, Algeria of the last decade, even Saudi Arabia—the prison population is a fraction of what it was in Israel even before this war, which has caused the Israeli authorities to establish a concentration camp for 9,000 new inmates.

Nowhere in the Arab world is land taken systematically from the citizens, Arab or not. Nowhere in the Arab world is repression guided by computers and refined by scientific means.

I know what I am speaking about. I am an Israeli who lived for twenty-six years in what was then a decent and promising national Israeli state. Since 1977, I have been preparing a report on the Palestinians under Israeli rule, considered serious enough to serve as proof in the eyes of a dozen governments and (at one stage) the United Nations human rights unit. I invite Bernard Brodsky to peruse this document, gathered month by month from *Israeli* sources, and then to repeat his statement if he dares.

Maxim Ghilan, Editor
Israel & Palestine Monthly

CLARIFICATION

Washington, D.C.

My article "Abolitionists & Prudentialists" [*The Nation*, August 7-14] leaves the impression that U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Arthur Hartman attended the meetings of the Institute for Policy Studies delegation with Soviet officials. This is inaccurate. The views expressed about SALT II by Hartman, that both sides observed SALT II in spirit, were shared with the I.P.S. delegation privately.

Marcus G. Raskin

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double-spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Longer letters may be edited for reasons of space.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

At the Jazz Band Ball

FREDERICK TURNER

The high point of the thirteenth annual New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival was supposed to be its concluding event, a cruise aboard the riverboat President on May 9. The cruise was billed as the first reunion of old-time New Orleans musicians, which will be a feature of subsequent festivals. This cruise would honor those players who had been active in the city before 1940, and thus it seemed to present a unique opportunity for admirers of traditional New Orleans jazz to see and even meet the survivors of those legendary days. The setting itself would be wonderfully evocative: a riverboat once owned by the company whose upriver cruises in the late teens and twenties brought the sound of a new music to a curious country.

The President, a refurbished triple-decker that can accommodate 2,500 people, is berthed at the foot of Canal Street, where it looks incongruous beneath the gigantic tower of the New Orleans Hilton. Twenty dollars got you aboard for the cruise, for the music and dancing, and for a dinner of fried chicken, red beans and rice, and salad. A handsome crowd of musicians, their families, historians and admirers turned out, as did a host of media people, including a film crew from the American Patchwork Project under the direction of Alan Lomax.

There was no cruise: the President never left the dock. There was music, some of it pretty mediocre, and there was dancing; the cash bars did a jingling trade. The next day there would be scattered cries of "hoax" and "rip-off" from those who had expected more for their $20. But most of the musicians seem to have enjoyed themselves and the opportunity the occasion provided to see old faces. Still, there was more to this first jazz band ball than either the musicians or the audience would readily have granted.

The master of ceremonies and the evening's most visible and vocal presence was Danny Barker, splendid in tuxedo and gambler's green silk vest. It was he who got the evening started and he who gave it whatever cohesion it possessed. Barker enjoys a large reputation in the New Orleans musical community. He is said to have been an outstanding rhythm guitarist and banjo player in his youth, which he spent with the big bands of Cab Calloway and Benny Carter; before he came back home to New Orleans, he was a regular at Jimmy Ryan's in New York City. For some time now he has been at work on the definitive book on New Orleans jazz.

Barker impresses one as a musician whose skills have been somewhat dulled by either age or inattention; also as a man who knows a great deal about the history of his music and who refuses, even on the happiest of occasions, to forget the racial barriers that have had so much to do with that history. You could say that Barker carries a big chip on his shoulder, that he is bitter and nursing a grudge against the white world. Or you could say that his sense of history is an intensely active one and that it relentlessly tinges his days with bitter memories of insults and dangers: the way a black had to get out of a white man's way on New Orleans sidewalks; the way the accomplishments of white musicians were honored and rewarded while those of blacks were ignored. Earlier in the festival, Barker had gone into this last matter during a seminar on traditional jazz held at Tulane University, and there had been a brief but nasty fire fight, the smoke of which still clung to the clothes of those who were in it.

Now, as I browsed at the bandstand strewn with wires and plugs, the late sun still slanting through the many windows of the boat, I observed Barker listening to a stubby white man in his 60s who was attempting to strike up a conversation by saying that he'd played in the band on the President's maiden voyage. And, boy, it was a thrill to be back aboard for this wonderful occasion. Behind thick glasses his eyes sparkled with enthusiasm. Behind *his* glasses Barker regarded him inscrutably. On the theory that the only way to retrieve a lost arrow is to shoot another in the same direction, the man gave a virtual chronology of his career—bands he'd played with, places they'd played, such as the Monteleone Hotel on Royal Street.

"Well," said Barker at last, breaking his withering silence, "here you've gone and had a fabulous career. I wish I could expound on it, but I can't." He wasn't looking at the man now, nor speaking directly to him, and his delivery was like a stage aside. "I should get a directory or something of all the white musicians. Anyway, I couldn't have heard you at the Monteleone. The only way I could get into the Monteleone was by the back door." His pencil-thin mustache turned up toward his left eye, following the bitter drift of his smile, but the white man had already moved away in embarrassment and bafflement and anger. Later in the evening I saw him in the company of other elderly whites—he would not make *that* mistake again.

Once the rambling ceremonies commenced, Barker made his sense of things manifest. His extempore remarks on the New Orleans tradition had a bite, an edge, and when he led a jam session he sent meaningful glances toward the white clarinetist who played with the group for the first hour. The clarinetist was blind, so he missed Barker, but the white bones player who rattled on for a few numbers in front of the band could not, and he wore an expression of profound anxiety, like someone drowning before a pierful of spectators. When I encountered him later that night, his manner was oddly apologetic, as if he had glimpsed history through Barker's lens, had seen himself suddenly as a latecomer, a usurper, a minority—as indeed on that stage he was.

The jam session Barker led was a failure. He had hoped other blacks would bring their instruments and sit in. Few did, and thus, in an irony Barker wouldn't have missed, he actually needed that white clarinetist and that bones player. When Barker and the others left the stage, no one seemed to mind. They had started no fires, and no one had danced to their beat.

As soon as a white Dixieland band started up, the boat jumped alive. Dancers crowded onto the floor and ringed its borders, and there was static in the air. The band was led by a tall, lean man in a three-piece blue suit whose exertions soon made him break into a heavy sweat. From his first line, it

Frederick Turner's book on New Orleans jazz, Remembering Song, *was recently published by Viking.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was clear he was a superior player, with a big range, a bright tone and, above all, the ability to lift a band and make it swing.

The man was James La Rocca, son of the famed cornet player of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, Nick La Rocca. He was to prove Barker's opposite, as became apparent when he was introduced to the crowd. There was a thin clatter of applause, as if everyone had tacitly acknowledged that this affair was in honor of the black musicians. La Rocca turned his back on the applause, waving his horn behind him in short, angry dismissal. He knew the perfunctoriness of those patting palms. He wanted none of that. He would play, and *then* they would applaud, by God! And he did, and they did.

His whole being crackled with defiance and energy. He spoke the titles of the numbers into the microphone in a husky whisper, lunged about the bandstand exhorting the players, then seized the mike to tell the audience, "That's Jeff Riddick, folks! You're hearing *real* Dixieland piano now!" He tilted his horn to the skylights and hit his high notes with brash assurance. To La Rocca's right were the honored musicians and their relatives; many of them were black. To his left, in shadow, were the paying guests; most of them were white. He looked to neither, but his playing went to the right, while his remarks went left.

It was an astonishing performance. Where had this guy come from, anyway?

That is what I asked him later. By then the awards portion of the ceremonies was, mercifully, over. Jeannette Kimball, Papa Celestine's longtime pianist, had read the names of those receiving commemorative medallions, and Mrs. La Rocca had accepted one for her late husband. It was night now on the river, and the disembodied lights of a big freighter slid past us. The New Leviathan Oriental Fox Trot Orchestra, another all-white group, filled the floor again. La Rocca, far less apt a dancer than a musician, had swung his handsome mother off her stockinged feet to the bouncing two-beat, and now he sat dabbing his face and neck with a handkerchief.

I introduced myself to him, complimenting his playing and remarking that his father would have been proud of his son on such an occasion.

"My daddy would have shit," La Rocca answered, gazing at the swirling dancers. "He never expected me to grow up to be a player. In fact, refrigeration is my real business. Oh, I'm a professional musician, all right, which is more than I can say for some around here tonight. But I don't do it full time. I can't."

"Well," I countered, "I don't know the reasons why you can't, but they can't be musical ones. You're a very accomplished musician, and whatever your father may have thought . . . "

He interrupted my well-meant blandness. What had I thought of that first band that jammed under Barker's lead? he wanted to know.

I did not know James La Rocca. But I did know that Nick La Rocca had been contemptuous of the achievements of jazz's blacks and that in the late 1950s, when he collaborated with H.O. Brunn on a book about the Original Dixieland Jazz Band, he claimed that his own shallow and derivative group had invented the music. In an appendix to that book not a single black musician is listed among the significant pioneers of New Orleans jazz. When Bill Russell, the premier historian of New Orleans jazz, praised Buddy Bolden, Bunk Johnson and Jelly Roll Morton, Nick La Rocca suggested that Russell must be in the employ of either W.C. Handy or the N.A.A.C.P. So I went carefully here, suggesting only that it was hard to get something going under these conditions.

"Yeah," he shot back, his dark eyes drilling mine, "but we did. And these were just guys I rounded up on the boat." He had me there, and he knew it.

"Of course," I said, "it helps a lot if you've got a fine lead horn. Maybe your group wouldn't have sounded so good if you hadn't been out in front so strongly."

"Bullshit. These guys here tonight to get these medals, they aren't 'jazz greats'"—he pronounced the phrase with heavy sarcasm. "These guys are just old retreads, and *that's* the only difference between how they sounded and how we did."

"Some of your licks," I said, trying to avoid a confrontation while at the same time the historical implications of the encounter compelled me to go on,

AUDIO-FORUM® offers the best in self-instructional foreign language courses using audio cassettes—featuring those used to train U.S. State Dept. personnel in Arabic, French, German, Chinese, Greek, and more.

Learn a foreign language on your own! Free catalog.

Call (203) 453-9794, or fill out and send this Ad. to:
Audio-Forum,
Suite 723, On-The-Green, Guilford, CT., 06437.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

I am particulary interested in (check choices):

☐ Spanish ☐ French ☐ German ☐ Greek ☐ Russian

☐ Other _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"reminded me of Armstrong a lot."

"Bullshit. What you heard there"—he spread his huge, beringed hands before my face—"was Harry James. Have you ever heard James? I mean, really listened? If you had, you wouldn't have made that mistake. That's James, not Armstrong."

Okay, I thought, you brought it up. "I sense a great bitterness in you, Mr. La Rocca. Are you bitter about something?"

"Damn right, I am. Damn right. Listen." Again there were those huge, tense hands and the sharp glisten of their jewels. "You're supposed to be a writer—smart, educated. I'll bet you can't tell me when the first jazz recordings were made." The New Leviathan Orchestra seemed to be tootling very far away as I guessed 1917.

"Wrong. It was 1916. And that's what's wrong with all you guys. It's Armstrong this and Oliver that. Have you ever listened to the O.D.J.B. recordings?"

I said I'd heard them.

"Heard them. Yeah, well, if you'd *really* heard them, you'd know it's all there. Everything in jazz is *right there.* These guys," waving openly at the dark, honored musicians, "they never invented anything."

"What about Keppard?" I asked. "People from that time say he was a hell of a cornetist, but he didn't get the chance to record until he was way past his peak."

"You know why? Because Keppard played shit. *That's* why."

"How do we know that?" I asked. He answered with a look meant to crush me into silence, but I had already decided to barge ahead. "I notice that all the players you revere are white. Is it really a skin thing we're talking about?"

It was. La Rocca's reply was so emphatic that it jerked me to my feet, hand outstretched, oddly recalling that the original purpose of the handshake had been to show that one's hand was weaponless.

He wouldn't shake my hand. "Ahhh," he said, turning away toward the dancers with their frocks and blazers and white shoes. "You're like all the others. Brainwashed. You won't listen."

I sought relief at a nearby table, where Danny Barker's voice ran on over the bouncy blare of the New Leviathan. If his voice was as embittered as La Rocca's, at least it seemed to me tempered with justice and history. I was letting Barker's voice wash over me when it was interrupted. An elderly white man was somewhat diffidently introducing himself to Barker as Eddie Edwards Jr. And, well, after all these years he just had to come down here for this event. Living up in Rhode Island now. Again Barker refused to acknowledge the name. Edwards Jr. proffered a photograph. Barker took it, and I could see in his dark hand the frozen, posed images of the Original Dixieland Jazz Band: La Rocca, Nunez, Ragas, Sbarbaro and this man's father, Eddie Edwards, the trombonist.

While I gazed at the faces of that revenant group, Edwards Jr. continued talking, and the dancers continued to twirl across the floor of the stranded riverboat. How appropriate, I thought, that we had remained tied to the dock. The force of our unacknowledged history had kept us just where we had been on this evening—standing still. □

The Last of Beulah Valley

J. D. O'HARA

THE KILLING GROUND. *By Mary Lee Settle. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 385 pp. $14.95.*

Boxing has given us lots of useful terms: knockout, out for the count, taking a dive and—heartwarming phrase—a clean break. Life affords us far too few clean breaks. Listen to country music: someone's always hanging on for dear life, unable to let go and walk away. Mary Lee Settle's *The Killing Ground* takes its story from that situation.

Hannah McKarkle is the product of a number of West Virginia families, most of them involved in coal mining, who have moved downriver from the Beulah Valley to the town of Canona, where they mingle with the other nouveau riche families that form the town's elite. Like her sister, Melinda, and her brother, Jonathan, Hannah was raised to continue the existence of her family and her class by doing what everyone else did. But she and Johnny couldn't or wouldn't fit in, and in the 1960s she left for New York City. Johnny stayed home but refused to marry, took pointless jobs, bedded many local women, drank too much and was killed in a jailhouse brawl. Back in Canona for his funeral, Hannah found what many find on similar homecomings: she hadn't broken clean after all.

To understand her complicated relationships with her family, the town and the whole area, Hannah looks deep into the past. Where Canona is now, a prehistoric town once stood. According to legend, a mother goddess inhabited a sacred circle upriver, and fathers offered her the blood of sons or substitutes. Today, on the site of that ancient killing ground, "the spire of All Saints, the Episcopal church, pierces the sky, and on Sundays the chalice is passed discreetly." The country club golf course reveals "the hazards and traps that still form, faintly, fragments of the earthworks of the sacred circle." But, as Hannah learns, the sacrifices are still going on, though now the mother goddesses frequent the country club.

Most sons capitulate without bloodshed. They join the family firms, wear the right clothes, live the properly ritualized lives, marry the cosmetically blushing brides . . . and why not? Settle is wonderful in evoking "the seduction of duty and comfort and compliance." Listen to the music of this passage, in which Hannah is greeted by Aunt Rose and Uncle Ephraim, two of the novel's nicest people:

> In her touch, the feel of her fresh clothes, her skin, and beyond her, the sameness of the house, I was caught in the enchantment of security without responsibility that was child love. Then I was within both of their arms, cared for, in an instant of a dream as selfish as pre-puberty and fed with recognitions, self-centered, pure and sexless, the promise of blessing so long as I didn't rock the boat.
>
> It passed almost at once.

All that happiness and then two quick slaps in the face. The novel begins with Hannah back in town and looking forward to a ride with her old "friends": "The Cadillac door will close on me. It will fit with a slight puff, a lady fart." As the "girls" in the car bitch at one another, we hear their thoughts. Kitty Puss Baseheart, "once the fastest girl in her crowd," thinks of Johnny and other lovers: "Lover was a fine word, but it ended up where it began, in a motel room." Another thinks about children: "You did everything in the world for them and what did you get in return?"

J. D. O'Hara teaches English at the University of Connecticut.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This concern with profit and loss, with pride and humiliation, evokes a major theme in Settle's treatment of women: theirs is the calculating, self-centered tyranny of the weak. Their weapons are the swoon, the silence, the troubled withdrawal, the snub, the sick headache and, of course, the appeal to propriety. At every crisis we hear "not now," "not here," "at a time like this," "today of all days," "now is not the time."

Settle has an ear for the vernacular—the fake genteel diction of Canona's elite, the rough back-country speech of its lower classes—that would have delighted Mark Twain. Here is Jake Catlett, Johnny's inadvertent killer, encountering the absurd epitaph that Hannah's high-toned mother chose for her father's tombstone ("Whose solid virtue the shot of accident nor dart of chance could neither graze nor pierce"):

> Jake read it slowly. "Now ain't that purty?" he asked nobody. "He blowed his brains out when the bottom dropped out of the coal business. Your grandpa like to had a fit. He brung him all the way down from Beulah on a shutter. Never quit harpin' on it. They had a fondness for one another."

As these voices create a complex counterpoint, we find an unpleasant world, disturbingly like our own, rising up around us. West Virginia, coal-mining mama, takes us home. *The Killing Ground* is fine entertainment; it will make you hope for rainy weather and a chance to read it slowly.

But that's not the half of it. Mary Lee Settle won the National Book Award in 1978 for *Blood Tie*, a fine, serious novel set in Turkey, but her central work has been the livelier, even more serious and often raucously funny Beulah Quintet: *Prisons, O Beulah Land, Know Nothing, The Scapegoat* and now *The Killing Ground*. The first four novels trace the movement of immigrants from England to North America in the 1600s; the settlement of West Virginia; the Civil War years; the development of the coal industry in the Beulah Valley; and the industry's sellout to "outside interests" during the depression of 1907.

Once in Canona, the well-off survivors of the depression set about remaking their lives and their history. In *The Killing Ground*, a women's cultural committee has taken over "the old beer joint, the Wayfaring Stranger," and has turned it into "a doll's house, San Francisco style," to house an art gallery. The

IF YOU'RE WORRIED ABOUT THE COUNTRY, TRY The Nation.

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $12.00, a savings of 60% off the newsstand price and 20% off the regular subscription price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!

☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____
(PLEASE PRINT)
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Add $3.50 postage for each foreign subscription. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8230

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gallery is intended to counteract the museum. "The state took over the museum," one woman explains sadly. "It's awful. . . . You know, models of coal mines and a lot of stuff about early man. I wouldn't call that taste. We're the hanging committee, so we have control over taste." The deadly hanging committee does what it can. But the Beulah Quintet is like the state museum: it offers unprettified reality, including coal mines and early man.

Imagine a back-country quilt thrown down in a soft heap. You are pleased by the colors and the curious shapes. Then slowly you discern an intricate array of patterns. So in the Quintet. As its author (for Settle attributes her novels to her heroine), Hannah suggests some of these patterns—sometimes literally from above, as when she looks down on West Virginia from an airplane, or when she sees into the past from an interstate highway lookout point: "the table rock where the first Hannah had been driven by hunger to eat raw bear meat" now appears "as small as a pebble." Most unsettling—especially for readers of the previous novels—is the discovery that the whole event-filled Beulah Valley is now straddled by the four lanes of that interstate highway.

In *The Killing Ground*, the patterns of the past have been disrupted and distorted. Mining companies have stripped the land down to hardpan and rock. Canona society, as the gentrification of the Wayfaring Stranger bar suggests, is sterile and false, its life based on money—coal mining money. We frequently hear that this or that item "cost an arm and a leg," and among the working class, we meet those who paid—the substitute sacrifices—shorn of a limb by a mining accident.

The Beulah Valley is a fearful and dangerous world, but Settle preaches no simple rebellion against its history. Our country was settled by "people who for three hundred years had left home because they had to," says Hannah, who left home herself. But she also realizes that "our country was made by people who had no place else to go." Since they cannot break clean, Settle's rebels must make their home in this alien world—"perhaps a place to leave without guilt and return to without regret, and there the seeking ends."

Have I made the Beulah Quintet sound like a five-volume sermon? It is not. Settle is far too lively and witty a writer to preach. At the end of *The Killing Ground* she pays a quick tribute to "Cassandra, an eminently sensible girl, the first novelist." No one ever believed Cassandra's warnings. No one may ever heed Settle's wisdom. But if you know any literate young person whom you wish well, you might buy him or her a copy of *The Killing Ground* when you buy your own. □

Always a Lady

PAUL BERMAN

A FULL LIFE. *By Helen Gahagan Douglas. Doubleday and Company. 444 pp. $19.95.*

Helen Gahagan Douglas was the sort of high-minded liberal who is always defeated by lowdown, nasty, vicious right wingers. The proof is in the 1950 Nixon-Douglas Senate race in California. Nixon was uninhibited. Voters received anonymous telephone calls from people who claimed Douglas was a Communist and asked, "Did you know that Helen Gahagan Douglas is married to a man whose real name is Hesselberg?" Douglas was not a Communist, but Melvyn Douglas's original name was indeed Hesselberg. Voters were promised free silverware if they answered the phone with "Vote for Nixon!" instead of "Hello." Nixon's campaign staffers also arranged for a bunch of fraternity boys to disrupt a Douglas rally by squirting water from a hay wagon. (The fraternity boys were actually hoodlums in training, but no one knew that at the time. Their names were Segretti, Strachan, Chapin and Kalmbach.) The dirtiest trick of all was the murderously effective "Pink Sheet"—a leaflet devised by Murray Chotiner, denouncing Douglas for being part of a "Douglas-Marcantonio AXIS!" Douglas was a fine, progressive politician, but she was not as fine and progressive as Vito Marcantonio, so the charge was unfair. That didn't stop Nixon, who said, "Helen Gahagan Douglas is pink right down to her underwear."

Douglas counterattacked by issuing a "Blue Book" detailing Nixon's political positions and comparing them with her own. But as she admits in *A Full Life*, the "Blue Book" was long and boring. Ronald Reagan campaigned for her, but that didn't help. Possibly nothing could have helped: the Korean War had begun, and she was the candidate who favored getting along with the Russians and restraining the military. The Catholic Church had never forgiven her for opposing Franco. Still, it was an election, and she was too gracious to come out swinging. The graciousness persists in her autobiography, where she observes that Nixon's campaign, although anti-Semitic, Red-baiting and McCarthyite, was not sexist.

Douglas first got involved in politics in the late 1930s by championing the oppressed farmworkers in southern California. Even then her politics were high-minded in a silk-stocking sort of way, and had the quality of charity rather than militancy. One Christmas she organized a toy distribution for the farmworkers' children—but declined to distribute the toys from the headquarters of the farmworkers' union. That got the labor people mad, but to her mind there was a principle involved. Perhaps she didn't have a touch for labor. Certainly she hated Communists and thought they were always trying to trick her. She went to her death convinced that a certain very handsome man who kept bothering her was an agent sent by Harry Bridges to seduce her and blacken her reputation.

Even Douglas's theatrical career—her original road to success—suffered from high-mindedness. She broke into Broadway right after graduating from Barnard College in 1922, when she was 22, but she couldn't accustom herself to bad plays, which made life difficult. After a few years she turned to opera. She had some successes in Europe and would have had more, but she refused to sing in Nazi Germany.

Douglas worked on *A Full Life* off and on for ten years before her death in 1980; the book was finished by June Callwood with the aid of several others. The first section, describing her theater years and her Life-With-Father home in Park Slope, Brooklyn, benefits from the liveliness of her early struggle for independence: she had to wriggle hard to get out from under the patriarchal thumb. But once she becomes a Great Lady, the narrative dries out. As a politician, she adopted many commendable

Paul Berman writes for The Village Voice. *His book for children,* Make-Believe Empire: A How-To Book, *has just been published by Atheneum.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

positions and fought hard for disarmament. During her three terms in Congress she opposed the House Committee on Un-American Activities and was one of the handful of representatives who voted against a contempt citation for the Hollywood Ten (she manages not to make a fuss about this courageous position in her book). She was the first white member of Congress to employ a black secretary. But the record of these doings labors under the weight of too many selections from tedious speeches and too much praise from other politicians and the press. The editors of the *Book of Knowledge*, she reports, listed her as one of the "twelve smartest women in the world." If she was really that smart she would have left this out.

She does tell some good anecdotes, however, and it is interesting to read about her friendship with the young Lyndon Johnson. The most touching passages in the book are the introduction by Melvyn (who died last year) and a few lines by him inserted into the text. Melvyn couldn't get over Heywood Broun's calling Helen "ten of the twelve most beautiful women in the world." Once Melvyn stopped their car too fast and she cut her forehead on the windshield: he felt he had mutilated ten of the world's twelve most beautiful women. Melvyn Douglas loved his wife. Anyone would like to think that when the years are over, one's life companion might write the way Melvyn writes about Helen in this book. □

Pioneer Women

JUDITH LEVINE

WOMEN'S DIARIES OF THE WESTWARD JOURNEY. *By Lillian Schlissel. Schocken Books. 262 pp. $16.95.*

READ THIS ONLY TO YOURSELF: The Private Writings of Midwestern Women, 1880-1910. *By Elizabeth Hampsten. Indiana University Press. 242 pp. $22.50.*

It is a historical commonplace that the conquest of the western frontier has defined the American character. Ever since Frederick Jackson Turner, historians have made much of the notion that the adventures of emigration, homesteading and gold prospecting lured men at the moment in their lives (and in the country's) when they were ready to stretch, to break away. The individualistic, rugged and ruthless pioneer is *the* mythic American figure; his spirit is the American spirit—be he artist, entrepreneur or astronaut.

I use the pronoun *he* intentionally, because, as we learn from these two books, women's experience of the brutal 2,500-mile overland trek and of life on isolated homesteads in the barely settled West were altogether different from men's—*their* characters were forged in quite different ways. While women were no less heroic than men, theirs was heroism by default. "If the westward migration became an expression of testing and reaching for men," writes Lillian Schlissel in *Women's Diaries of the Westward Journey*, "then it surely must have been an 'anti-mythic' journey for women." It came at precisely the wrong moment in women's lives—one in five women on the trail was pregnant, and almost every one traveled with small children. Moreover, Schlissel says, "when women wrote of the decision to leave their homes, it was almost always with anguish, a note conspicuously absent from the diaries of men." Overwhelmingly, women did not want to go west.

Although we don't know how many women convinced their men not to emigrate, the fact that a quarter of a million people made the journey between 1840 and 1870—almost all of them traveling in family groups—testifies to the power of husbands in the nineteenth century. That women managed to hold their families together—to give birth and watch over children, to vary a diet of coffee and beans by stewing wild fruit and rolling pie dough on the buckboards, to nurse the sick (the emigration coincided with and transported a major cholera epidemic) and to buoy everybody's spirits through 100-degree heat, buffalo stampedes and the exhaustion, loneliness and anxiety of traveling a vaguely blazed trail to an uncertain destination—is equal testimony to female strength.

Women accomplished this monumental task not by taking on masculine roles, as we might assume from tales of Annie Oakley and the few single female pioneers, but by clinging to traditional feminine ones. "Mother is always reminding Louvina and me to be ladies!" writes one girl, whose mother insisted that she ride sidesaddle even over the roughest terrain.

Obviously, women must have had strong feelings about their experiences, but their writings are striking for their emotional chasteness. Social proscriptions and the apparent expectation that the chronicles would be published (as well, Schlissel suggests, as women's desire "to hide their fears and anxieties") censored not only allusions to childbirth and sexuality but also the frank expression of feeling.

However, about catastrophe—illness, accident and especially death—the diarists write with "a kind of murderous precision," recording like clerks the names, ages, dates and causes of death on the graves they passed daily. "The heart has a thousand misgivings and the mind is tortured with anxiety," writes Lodisa Frizzell, "and often as I pass the fresh made graves, I have glanced at the side boards of the wagons, not knowing how soon it would serve as a coffin for some one of us."

Passages like this reveal the enormous emotional cost of the settlement of the West. But, as Schlissel points out in this well-written, well-organized and fascinating book, we are sometimes even more moved by the stoicism and sadness at those times when the women are most reserved. "We laid his body away in the best manner we possibly could," writes Nancy Hunt after her husband died in the Nevada desert. "But there was no grass for the cattle. We must push on."

If Schlissel's women were inhibited because theirs was essentially public writing, we might expect the private writings of Midwestern women collected by Elizabeth Hampsten in *Read This Only to Yourself* to be somewhat juicier. Unfortunately, the same social rules cramp these journals and letters too. Lacking in intimate details, the writings are short on news of the larger world as well. Hampsten claims that these women's writings, by contrast with those of men in similar situations, have little regional identity and show little interest in geography, industry, demographics or scientific or historical events. Like most general distinctions between the sexes, this one can be easily rebutted. However, if it is true in this

Judith Levine writes about sex, marriage and the family for The Village Voice *and other magazines.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

particular case, the state of affairs is made worse by the tendency of letters and family chronicles to assume the reader knows who is who, how old they are and what they do for a living. Furthermore, as Hampsten notes, if we read this stuff to find out what people had on their minds, we may discover "that some had very little."

Here is a typical entry from Grace DeCou's diary, dated December 18, 1893:

> Tuesday. Snowed. We washed. Jasper brought wood. He was here for dinner. Mrs. Schentzow called and payed me one $1.00 she owed me, I called at Mrs. Walkers and brought Mrs. Roys dress home to make, went down town, got crackers .07 cents, cheese .17 cents, foolscap paper .01 cents, a bottle of Chamberlains immediate relief .25 cents.

Hampsten does her best to fill out this "literature of omission" and to highlight what she insists is a wealth of references to death and sexuality. She assures us that patient reading will yield a rich sense of the texture of rural women's lives; to be fair, there are rewarding moments. An Ohio woman advises her friend in the Dakotas about buying a diaphragm ("They are called Pessaire . . . if you don't want to ask for a 'pisser' just ask for a female prevenative"). A Dakota woman describes the terrible weather—hailstones "as large as hen's eggs" that broke 129 hotel windows and left "not a spear" of wheat standing, a blizzard in which men froze to death on their way to the barns to feed the stock—and confesses her low spirits: "dreadfully, dreadfully forlorn . . . frantically lonely."

The problem is that most readers won't have the patience to get through the undistinguished and undistinguishable trivia in these writings, and Hampsten doesn't make the going any easier. An admirable archivist, she is not a deft editor, and she bogs the reader down in repetitive and esoteric discussions of sentence structure and parts of speech. Essential as such records of daily life are to the social historian, without skillful editorial guidance they remain too downright boring for all but the most committed scholars. □

THE GRAND MAGIC THEATER FINALE

To Katharine

The curse was to claw the earth with their hands
in the dark until every cue was handed up.

And then the liberation of light blazing.
And here, out of their roles the cast comes back
in costume—how shy they seem of those rich
stigmata—marking time, shambling their steps.
See, the stars, too, have lined up with the chorus,
turning to meet our eyes and gaze frankly
at last, face to face. And look at the lot
bust loose, stomp and prance, shake that dynamite.
There's nothing they don't over-over-over-do.
And what life they must have to be so different
every time we look! Like half-molted metaphors
—at ease in two worlds at once—they ad-lib
and swank their old impersonations for us
as if to say, *All that was just kidding.*
This happiness is the serious stuff.

Their exuberance, their soaring
would break our hearts if they weren't making
everything larger, ourselves immortal,
with laughter. And surely they must know it,
singing out louder, reaching out their arms to us.
And who can say what they are begging and bringing?
Our cheering says, *Freedom! Feeling!*—from which
they wave, riding high, blowing both-handed kisses,
What wonderful people—you're all angels.
Not goodbye but hello, folks, welcome to heaven!

Irving Feldman

THEATER.

RICHARD GILMAN

The Regard of Flight
Geniuses
The Learned Ladies

There's something abstract and indirect about the title of Bill Irwin's stage piece at the American Place Theatre: *The Regard of Flight* sounds like a line from a poem by St.-J. Perse. And there's something abstract and indirect about the work itself. I enjoyed it a good deal, but I thought it could have been sharper, more forceful and lucid.

Irwin is a man of many talents—an acrobat, juggler, magician, dancer and actor, as well as the author of this short piece (it runs a little over an hour). With the help of several collaborators, including Doug Skinner (who has composed the music and plays the piano) and Michael O'Connor, Irwin lovingly spoofs a long and complex tradition of theater and comedy, from music hall to Beckett and beyond. Limber, dexterous, mostly deadpan, he draws from Chaplin and Keaton and from a storehouse of vaudeville turns. If there's a narrative line, it's carried by two men who start out in the audience and chase Irwin around, trying to get him to explain or apologize for not having given them the conventional theatrical work they had expected.

Much of the satire has to do with recent modes of performance art and non-narrative theater. In the flattest of voices, Skinner announces the various scenes: the "free association segment," the "stark kinetic image segment," the "obscene monologue" and so on. He also says things like "the onstage costume change demystifies the theatrical experience." In response to these announcements Irwin does some funny things with his body and with a plate of rubber spaghetti. The piece is amiable and enjoyable but, as I've said, somewhat cloudy; beyond mild satire, one is never quite sure of the point.

Geniuses has received a number of enthusiastic notices, but I find myself unable to climb on the bandwagon. Jonathan Reynolds's spoof of Hollywood movie makers has moments of wit and a degree of raw energy, but for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

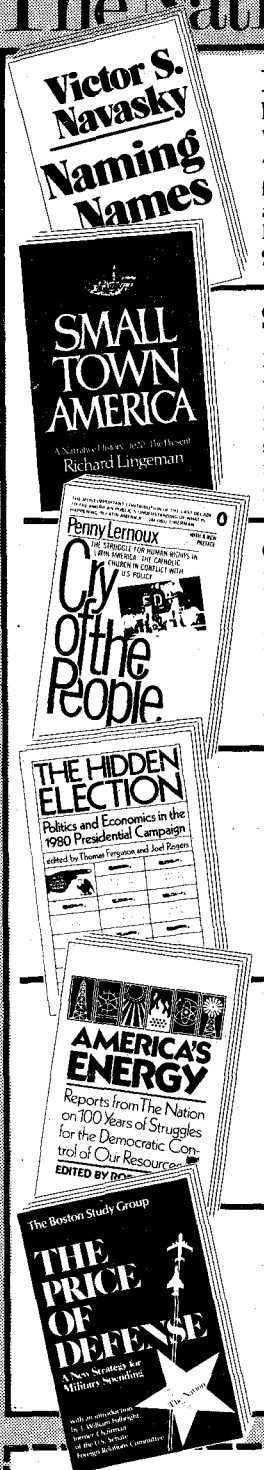
most part it struck me as possessing the comic force of a TV sitcom. The problem with satires of the movie industry is, of course, the obviousness of the target, and *Geniuses* does nothing to overcome this handicap. Clichés pounce upon clichés; stock situations are treated with stock comedic means; familiar foolishness meets with familiar put-downs.

The play's specific objects of satire are Francis Ford Coppola and the making of *Apocalypse Now*. A young directorial "genius" is on location in the Philippines shooting an epic about the war in Angola called *Parabola of Death*. (Much fun is made of Coppola's pretentiousness and windiness, but also, unfortunately, of ideas per se as against *entertainment*.) There is a good deal of contempt expressed for the host country—"the worst country in the world," someone calls it—which makes for an impression of smart-alecky sophistication. My identification with the proceedings was severely hampered by lines like, "Should I pack these typewriter ribbons or leave them for the natives to eat?"

While not always so obnoxious, Reynolds's humor almost never rises above one-liners: "The people who read my book liked it . . . all five of them"; "It rains so hard here it kills the mice"; "Los Angeles, where the smog comes in on little rat feet"; and "Los Angeles, land of sculptable air." A melancholy thought came to me as I left the theater: the minds and souls of the people who set out today to satirize the denizens of Hollywood or California or Madison Avenue are, with a few exceptions, precisely the same as those of their targets. That wasn't true of Jonathan Swift or, closer to home and to the subject, Nathanael West.

The best thing about the Roundabout Theater's production of *The Learned Ladies* is Richard Wilbur's new verse translation. Not that the production as a whole is especially inept, but the theatrical skills necessary to bring Molière to robust life have never been developed in this country. Under Norman Ayrton's cheerful direction and on a nice, uncluttered set by Roger Mooney, the company does its best with this fable of intellectual pretension and domestic intrigue. But there is too much discordance of acting styles and too many inadequate performances to bring it off.

The Nation Book Mart


Victor S. Navasky
Naming Names
SMALL TOWN AMERICA
Richard Lingeman
Penny Lernoux
Cry of the People
THE HIDDEN ELECTION
Politics and Economics in the 1980 Presidential Campaign
AMERICA'S ENERGY
Reports from The Nation on 100 Years of Struggles for the Democratic Control of Our Resources
The Boston Study Group
THE PRICE OF DEFENSE
A New Strategy for Military Spending

NAMING NAMES
By Victor S. Navasky
Winner: 1981 American Book Award
"The moral issues raised by the Hollywood blacklist remain fearfully complex and Victory S. Navasky confronts them with almost exquisite precision in this lucid and dramatic study of Hollywood during the McCarthy years." *The New York Times*
$5.95 Paper plus $1.50 handling/**$15.95 Cloth** plus $1.75 handling

SMALL TOWN AMERICA
A Narrative History 1620-The Present.
By Richard Lingeman
Small Town America is nothing less than a history of the United States told through a penetrating study of the development of its small towns. Filled with fascinating detail, it pleases us as it informs, appealing to scholar and general reader alike.
$8.95 Paper plus $1.50 handling/**$15.95 Cloth** plus $1.75 handling

CRY OF THE PEOPLE
By Penny Lernoux
Cry of the People is a compelling account of what is happening all over Latin America today based on accounts of both witnesses and victims. It is also a powerful indictment of U.S. policy there and of our silent complicity in the activities of totalitarian regimes.
$6.95 Paper plus $1.50 handling/**$14.95 Cloth** plus $1.75 handling

THE HIDDEN ELECTION
Politics and Economics in the 1980 Presidential Campaign
Edited by *Nation* columnists Tom Ferguson and Joel Rogers
"A delightfully unconventional assessment of the 1980 election that is certain to bring partisan juices to the boil. *The Hidden Election* should be read now—and reread in 1984."
Library Journal
$7.98 Paper plus $1.50 handling/**$16.00 Cloth** plus $1.75 handling

AMERICA'S ENERGY
SPECIAL
Edited by Robert Engler
The Energy Crisis wasn't born yesterday. To understand how the corporations got the oil (and gas and coal and electricity) and we got the headaches, read this compendium of reports from *The Nation* on 100 years of struggles for the democratic control of our resources.
ONLY $3.50 Paper (Reg. $7.85) (includes handling)

THE PRICE OF DEFENSE
A New Strategy for Military Spending
By The Boston Study Group
The only book in which ordinary citizens get a thoroughly researched, intelligently argued presentation of U.S. military capabilities and commitments.
Special *Nation* Paperback Edition **$4.95 Paper** plus $1.50 handling

THE NATION BOOK MART ORDER FORM

NB8230

Qty.	Item	Paper	Cloth	Total
	Naming Names	$ 7.45	$17.70	
	Small Town America	10.45	17.70	
	Cry of the People	8.45	16.70	
	The Hidden Election	9.48	17.75	
	America's Energy	3.50	—	
	The Price of Defense	6.45	—	

TOTAL ENCLOSED

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Book Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. *Offers expire Sept. 30, 1982.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Events.

WRITERS IN CRISIS
censorship
conglomerates
shrinking fees
A New York-Connecticut Regional Writers Conference
October 23, 1982
For Information Call: (212) 725-0147 or 723-4310

ATTENTION NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT GROUPS
A national and international calendar of disarmament events is being compiled as a program of the Fund for Peace. The calendar began June 15th and will extend through the summer. Subsequently, there will be a monthly listing of events. Send your listing to NUCLEAR WATCH, PO Box 1926, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163 or call (212) 557-7972.

New York Institute for Social Therapy & Research
Speaker Series
"RACE AND CLASS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY"
SPEAKERS: Jim Forman, Unemployed and Poverty Action Council, The Black Workers Congress, SNCC; Lenora Fulani, New Black Alliance, Candidate for Lieutenant Governor, New Alliance Party; Dennis Serrette, National Black Independent Political Party, Coalition Black Trade Unionists.
MODERATOR: Emily Carter Tadilla, Local 1199, New York Institute for Social Therapy and Research, Candidate for New York State Assembly, New Alliance Party.
In the face of increased poverty, intensified racism and other attacks, what kinds of organizations and tactics are needed to defend the black community?
August 20, 1982
Friday Evening, 8:15 PM
Teachers College
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
Thompson 136
Broadway & 120th St.
Admission: $3.50, $1.50 (low income)
Call (212) 663-5056 for more information

Events.

I have enclosed _____ camera ready ad
_____ copy to be set
_____ inches per ad
_____ times ad should run
$_____ *check or money order*

Name _____
Organization _____
Address _____
City, State, Zip _____
Phone _____

The Nation is published on Saturdays. It reaches subscribers and newsstands 5 days in advance of Saturday cover date.

We need your ad or copy by Tuesday, 11 days prior to cover date. We will accept phone-in copy. Call Virginia Cannon (212) 242-8400.

Rates: $30 per column inch. **Special offer, limited time only!** 3 ads for the price of 2.

The Learned Ladies is one of Molière's last plays, written a year before his death, and it isn't one of his best. There is no central figure of imaginative size, as in *Tartuffe* or *The Misanthrope* or *The Miser*, and the play takes unconscionably long to wind up, or down, after its decisive points about true versus false learning and natural versus artificial behavior have been made. Still, although it is closer to a museum piece than are Molière's other major works, it does have stretches of comic zest.

Wilbur does his best to keep it alive. A veteran translator of Molière, he offers an easy, conversational style and isn't afraid to take poetic liberties where sense isn't endangered. Among the rhymes I liked best were "hussy/fussy" and "ethereal/material," and I especially prized a line addressed to a pompous poetaster: "Go to Paris and confess your guilt/for turning Horace into a crazy quilt." A nod to the Roundabout for the enterprise, if not a hearty pat on the back. □

FILMS.

ROBERT HATCH

Star Trek II

By teaming Sigmund Freud with Sherlock Holmes in his novel *The Seven-Per-Cent Solution* and putting H. G. Wells on the track of Jack the Ripper in his film *Time After Time* (his debut as a director), Nicholas Meyer has quickly earned himself a reputation as a popular entertainer with an offbeat, witty imagination. He was a logical choice to direct *Star Trek II*, a.k.a. *The Wrath of Khan*. It made $14 million in its first weekend of national release, and Meyer's reputation took a quantum jump.

His task, though obvious, was not easy. It was to pilot the *Star Trek* saga out from under the shadow of *Star Wars*, whose first two installments have set an almost unmatchable standard for visual wizardry in the far reaches of the universe. Since there was little likelihood of beating *Star Wars* at its own game, Meyer changed the rules: he used only enough special effects to establish that the U.S.S. Enterprise was engaged in yet another vital mission far beyond the solar system, and concentrated on the lives of the flagship's personnel.

Meyer's theme is not killing and being killed, though there is enough of that to satisfy the groundlings, but the joy of life and the inevitability of death. His people read books—specifically, *A Tale of Two Cities* and *Moby Dick*—and, when the occasion arises, quote Shakespeare. But the Enterprise crew is getting on in years. As Admiral Kirk (William Shatner) remarks, he has always prided himself on being able to cheat death; now he must begin to face it. His birthday depresses him. Meyer shows these familiar Argonauts to be fallible and vulnerable; hence they become companionable.

He does introduce one new special effect which, though I would guess relatively easy to bring off, evokes a stronger response than all the topless towers, epic battles and hybrid creatures that have become the bread and butter of space opera. The biologists of the twenty-third century, we are told, have created in their laboratories the spark of life. Now they can at will transform asteroids from dead rocks spinning timelessly in space into instant Gardens of Eden. Henceforth humanity, along with the kindred beings inhabiting other earths warmed by other suns, will never lack new worlds to conquer. That is, unless evil prevails.

Evil is here embodied in Khan (Ricardo Montalban, who created the role on TV). He and his henchmen have been marooned for years on a particularly inhospitable planet, and Khan's genetically perfected brain has been addled by the experience. He cackles with glee as he introduces extraterrestrial scorpions into the ears of a pair of Kirk's lieutenants, thus rendering them compliant to his will. Seizing a starship, he dashes off in pursuit of the Enterprise, hurling threats and curses into the firmament with the malign vanity of the Flying Dutchman. He is the mad scientist of far too many suspense yarns. It is a burnt-out character, and Montalban's charm and gift for chewing rugs fail to make it formidable.

When the center of *Star Trek II*'s action shifts from the scenery to the characters, one notices that the story has not been projected into an unprecedented future but rather reflected back into a clichéd past. In a scene of great emotional embarrassment, a son is reconciled with his father. Spock, superb gentleman and noblest of the Vulcans (played as always by Leonard Nimoy), gives his life so others may live.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Courage prevails, malice is scotched, heroes age and think of putting down their shields. There is nothing arresting about these people except the stage they occupy. And a stage is a mere platform—for the purpose of drama, "another part of the forest" serves as well as the command room of an interstellar dreadnought.

Meyer is not to be blamed for his insipid characters. He inherited them and could not in one movie add a sudden cubit to their statures. But, like any chapter in an expertly designed serial, *The Wrath of Khan* ends with every indication that the story is far from over: even though Spock expires in a radioactive cloud that even a Vulcan could not withstand, his last resting place suggests the possibility of resurrection. Given another episode to work with, Meyer might ask himself whether the circumstances of interstellar conquest could have any unexpected effects on the relationships between the people involved. Thus far, the crew of the U.S.S. Enterprise is just a group of splendid chaps who cruise about upholding the honor of the flag and policing space to infinity. Something unusual might be done with the motives of these galactic patrollers. Otherwise, they might as well be transferred back to the flight deck of the *Saratoga*. □

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011 (212) 242-8400

Join the Nation Associates, a loyal and committed group of our readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $50 and up (annual membership includes a one-year subscription to *The Nation* and participation in a variety of Nation Associates activities).

For further information, please write, or call Claudine Bacher at (212) 242-8400.

CLASSIFIED.

ASSOCIATIONS

BERTRAND RUSSELL SOCIETY. Information: N, RD1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.

BOOKS

MINIATURE BOOKS OF JAPAN. Tatsuo Go, Moritakabatake 621, Toyama City, 931, Japan.

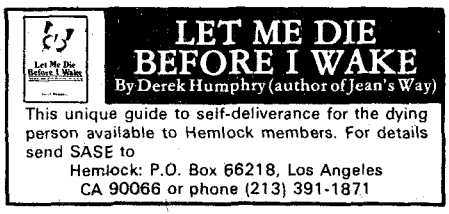
"UNCLE EZRA'S CURIOUS OBSESSION" 50,000 words of political satire with old-fashioned barnyard humor. Laugh or your money back. Makes a fine gift. $4.50 or 3 for $10. Lyle Carter, Watonga, OK 73772.

UNSAVED DEAD—Hope for them? FREE 80-page color book, others. Standard (N), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

RUDOLF STEINER & ANTHROPOSOPHY. Impulses for cultural renewal: education, medicine, architecture, agriculture, etc. FREE CATALOG. Anthroposophic Press, 258 Hungry Hollow Rd., Spring Valley, NY 10977.

HEAVENLY DESSERTS—hand lettered, perfect bound, American and Canadian recipe book. $5. Parsnip Press, 6992 El Camino Real 104-494, Carlsbad, CA 92008.

SING HEAVENLY MUSE! Women's Poetry & Prose, JOURNAL ISSUE. Meditations and musings on children, work, love, laundromats, death, fishing, friends, and the Great Depression. With Patricia Hampl, Kate Green, Naomi Shihab-Nye, Lyn Lifshin, Sandra Alcosser, Anya Achtenberg, Margot Kriel, Phebe Hanson, & 28 others. $6 prepaid, to: PO Box 14059, Minneapolis, MN 55414.


LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE
By Derek Humphry (author of Jean's Way)
This unique guide to self-deliverance for the dying person available to Hemlock members. For details send SASE to
Hemlock: P.O. Box 66218, Los Angeles CA 90066 or phone (213) 391-1871

ISRAELI INVASION OF LEBANON: a collection of carefully selected articles documenting aspects of the Israeli invasion and occupation of Lebanon. Special subjects include civilian casualties, mistreatment of prisoners, cluster bombs, Israeli and U.S. Jewish dissent and Israeli and U.S. policies. Articles represent the most substantial and valuable writings appearing during the first two months of war. They were selected after careful monitoring of over 100 different newspapers and periodicals, including items from THE LONDON TIMES, MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, LOS ANGELES TIMES, NEW YORK TIMES, BALTIMORE SUN, WASHINGTON POST, VILLAGE VOICE, NEW STATESMAN, JERUSALEM POST and other publications. Materials are indexed and bound in a 190 page book. $7.50. Send payment to: Clairmont Research, 160 Clairmont Ave., New York, NY 10027.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

ESTABLISHED, INDEPENDENT publisher seeks an association with someone who shares a commitment to publishing books of literary, social and political significance. Inquiries invited. Nation Box 23.

BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS

BITTNER FOR GOVERNOR buttons: $1. SASE to Iowa Socialist Campaign, Box 8211-N, Des Moines, IA 50306.

BUTTONS/BUMPERSTICKERS

RONALD REAGAN IS A FEDERAL DEFICIT, Creationists: Fossils in Their Own Time, Reaganomics: Dough for the Upper Crust—Crumbs for the Rest of Us, The Trickle-Down Theory is All Wet. Quality vinyl bumperstickers copyright 1982/ $2. Free brochure. Science Dimensions, PO Box 10582N, Costa Mesa, CA 92627.

YOU CAN'T HUG A CHILD WITH NUCLEAR ARMS buttons: 2/$1.50, 10/$6, 25/$50; T-shirts, $7; bumperstickers, $2. PO Box 3102, Charlottesville, VA 22903.

EDUCATION

LATIN & GREEK. College professor offers tutoring to suit individual needs in the New York area. (201) 792-5355.

FAIRHAVEN COLLEGE. Longtime experience with helping students find shape and pursue their careers. Graduates have outstanding records with business, government and top graduate and professional schools. Tough liberal arts core followed by student devised concentration or conventional university major. Intimate learning (250 students) with the resources of a large university (10,000) at hand. Superb faculty. Beautiful Northwest setting. Admissions: Fairhaven College, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA 98225. (206) 676-3678.

FOR SALE

SILVER, OLD STERLING FLATWARE patterns. Many in stock. Will search for others. Send "wants" list and SASE to: J. E. Mettler, Box #11077, Govans, Baltimore, MD 21212. Phone: (301) 547-1013.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST CROSSWORD PUZZLES are collected in Frank Lewis' latest book, #4. Send $3.75 to E. S. Lewis, 62 Fort St., Fairhaven, MA 02719.

GUIDES TO WISDOM

THOUGHT: Miracle Tool for Effective Living. $2 and SASE. Cuts labor, time and pain. Commonsense Books, 212N North Road, Chelmsford, MA 01824.

HEALTH

"CONQUER HARMFUL ANGER 100 WAYS." Find Love, Health, Relief, Security, Success, Energy. Vernon Howard's Powerful $2 booklet. Proven Results. NEWLIFE, PO Box 684-AN, Boulder City, NV 89005.

HELP HEAL YOURSELF and others using your own amazing psychic power. Free details. PSYCHIC, PO Box 1615C, Glendale, CA 91209.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning

11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, N.Y. 11021

212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

INVENTIONS

IDEAS, INVENTIONS WANTED for presentation to industry. 1-800-528-6050, Arizona, 1-800-382-0458, x831.

LITERARY SERVICES

FICTION CONSULTANT. 2227 20 St. N.W., 402 Washington, DC 20009.

STILL LOOKING FOR A BOOK? *Free search service pls.* write Peter Sperling-Books, Dept. A, PO Box 300, Old Chelsea Sta., New York, NY 10113-0300.

AUTHORS WANTED BY NEW YORK PUBLISHER

Leading subsidy book publisher seeks manuscripts of all types: fiction, non-fiction, poetry, scholarly and juvenile works, etc. New authors welcomed. Send for free, illustrated 40-page brochure N. Vantage Press, 516 W. 34 St., New York, N.Y. 10001

MAKE HOMEMADE BOOKLETS. I've earned $187,000 with mine. Free information: Florin, Box 548, Woodville TX 75979.

MERCHANDISE

VACUUM CLEANERS: "Discount Prices" "New" Rainbow $349.95, Kirby, Filter Queen, Compact, Details: ABC Vacuum Warehouse, 7021 Burnet-N, Austin, TX 78757.

MISCELLANEOUS

DISARM YOURSELF. Stamped envelope to New Party, 8319 Fulham Court, Richmond, VA 23227.

CULTURGRAMS: 4-page cultural summaries on over 70 cultures. For complimentary Culturgram and publications list, write BYU/CIAS, PO Box 61-G FOB, Provo, UT 84602 or call (801) 378-6528.

ACCURATE TAROT reading, send $10 and 3 questions along with stamped self-addressed envelope to PO Box 1107, Richmond, CA 94802.

PERSONALS

UNATTACHED? Meet aware, literate singles—like YOU! Very low fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

NEW-AGE SINGLES meet and publish in Contact High. Free details (sample $2); PO Box 500-N, Mendocino, CA 95460.

ENGINEER, MALE, nationalized U.S. citizen, 54, healthy, walker, seeks woman of similar characteristics. Apartment 204, 1245 Vine Street, Los Angeles, CA 90038. (213) 460-4474.

SCANDINAVIAN LADIES, 18-65, sincere, educated, seek correspondence, friendship, marriage. Send SASE to: Scannaclub, Dept. N5, PO Box 4, Pittsford, NY 14534.

GAY WOMEN WRITE/MEET through The Wishing Well Magazine Program. Since 1974. Confidential, supportive, dignified, prompt. A family feeling. Tender, loving alternative to "The Well of Loneliness." Introductory copy $5 (mailed discreetly first class). PO Box 117, Novato, CA 94948-0117.

WOMAN, craftsperson, walker, healthy, communicating. Seeks person similar. All answered, VH, PO Box 24951, Rochester, NY 14624.

TALL, SLIM Boston woman, 34, seeks warm accomplished man for New England adventures. Write Nation Box 59.

INTERNATIONAL PEN FRIENDS—81,000 members worldwide, ages 10-89. For information, write: IPF, Box 65, Brooklyn, NY 11229.

POSITIONS WANTED

PROGRESSIVE TV NEWS: Contradiction in terms???? Documentary filmmaker, educational TV producer, community activist seeking work in broadcast, cable, or production group. Explore archival ecstasy together. J. Laukes, 105 Wolpers, Park Forest, IL 60466.

LIVE-IN SITTER Responsible, recent University of Chicago graduate is interested in serving as tutor and live-in sitter in exchange for room and board in New York City area. Excellent references and experience. Evenings phone (212) 254-6621.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

GLOBAL THREATS to Third World minorities reported and analyzed in CULTURAL SURVIVAL QUARTERLY. For sample: CULTURAL SURVIVAL, 11 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138.

HOME PLANET NEWS, New York's *independent literary* quarterly: poetry, fiction, theater, news of the literary scene. $5 per year. Sample $1. PO Box 415, New York, NY 10009.

UNNATURAL CHILDBIRTH? RADICAL SCIENCE JOURNAL Special Medicalisation Issue $4.50 (or 3 issues for $11.50) from: 26 Freegrove Road, London N7, England.

ALTERNATIVE WORK IN NYC—a comprehensive listing of cooperative and democratic work places. $5. Check or money order. Delhi Distributors, 1181 Amsterdam Ave., New York, NY 10027.

READ THE GUARDIAN, America's #1 independent Marxist newsweekly. National, international coverage. Write for FREE introductory 4-week subscription. Guardian, Dept. NA, 33 W. 17th St., New York, NY 10011.

AGADA—New Jewish literary magazine. Divrei Torah, stories, poetry, translations, essays, memoirs and graphics. Triannual publication: $11/yr., $4 each. #3 due in August. 2020 Essex St., Berkeley, CA 94703.

QUERIES

AUTHOR'S QUERY

For a compendium of erroneous, untrue and just plain stupid statements by experts, we would appreciate hearing of any sources, anecdotes, documents, etc. about inexpert authorities in any field, in any age. Write Nation Box 80.

EDITOR'S QUERY for an anthology of "Drifter" columns 50 years ago in THE NATION: Anyone having any information about the identity of the author of these columns please respond to Nation Box D10.

WANTED FOR BOOK IN PROGRESS about Homosexuality in American music: opinions, remembrances, documents. Confidences respected. Leonie Rosenstiel, c/o Author Aid Associates, N-340 E. 52nd St., New York, NY 10022.

REAL ESTATE

MT. DESERT ISLAND cottage. Completely furnished, charming. On spruce-secluded acre. Sleeps six. $32,000. PO Box 97, Southwest Harbor, ME 04679. Or telephone (516) 785-7077.

BEAUTIFUL HAWAII—Vacation apartments. Free brochure: Paradise, 50 S Beretania, C207, Honolulu, HI 96813. (808) 538-7145. Toll Free U.S. to HI (800) 367-5205.

RECIPES

FAMOUS CINCINNATI chili recipe plus 4 authentic Greek dishes. Send $3 to: Kenco, PO Box 24, Xenia, OH 45385.

SUMMER RENTAL

MARTHA'S VINEYARD. Rooms near beach, tennis. (212) 674-2426 evenings.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T-SHIRTS

"THE MORAL MAJORITY IS NEITHER" Tee-shirts, $8, sweatshirts, $14, 50/50, white on wine. Bottomline Designs, PO Box 194, Jackson, NJ 08527.

TRAVEL

AMERICAN BED & BREAKFAST offers 48 host homes in northeast. $20-28 Double including breakfast. For directory send $4 to PO Box 983, St. Albans, VT 05478.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1925

J	E	R	R	Y	B	U	I	L	T	■	O	S	S	A
O	■	E	■	A	■	L	■	A	■	T	■	T	■	S
H	A	C	K	N	E	Y	■	R	E	A	L	I	S	T
N	■	I	■	K	■	S	■	G	■	L	■	C	■	U
N	I	P	S	■	A	S	T	E	R	I	S	K	E	D
Y	■	E	■	B	■	E	■	S	■	S	■	E	■	Y
O	Y	S	T	E	R	S	■	S	A	M	U	R	A	I
N	■	■	■	L	■	■	■	■	■	A	■	■	■	N
T	H	E	V	E	R	Y	■	D	Y	N	A	M	O	S
H	■	R	■	A	■	O	■	O	■	S	■	A	■	C
E	X	A	G	G	E	R	A	T	E	■	I	D	E	A
S	■	S	■	U	■	K	■	T	■	D	■	E	■	R
P	O	M	P	E	I	I	■	I	N	I	T	I	A	L
O	■	U	■	R	■	S	■	N	■	S	■	R	■	E
T	O	S	S	■	S	T	A	G	E	C	R	A	F	T

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

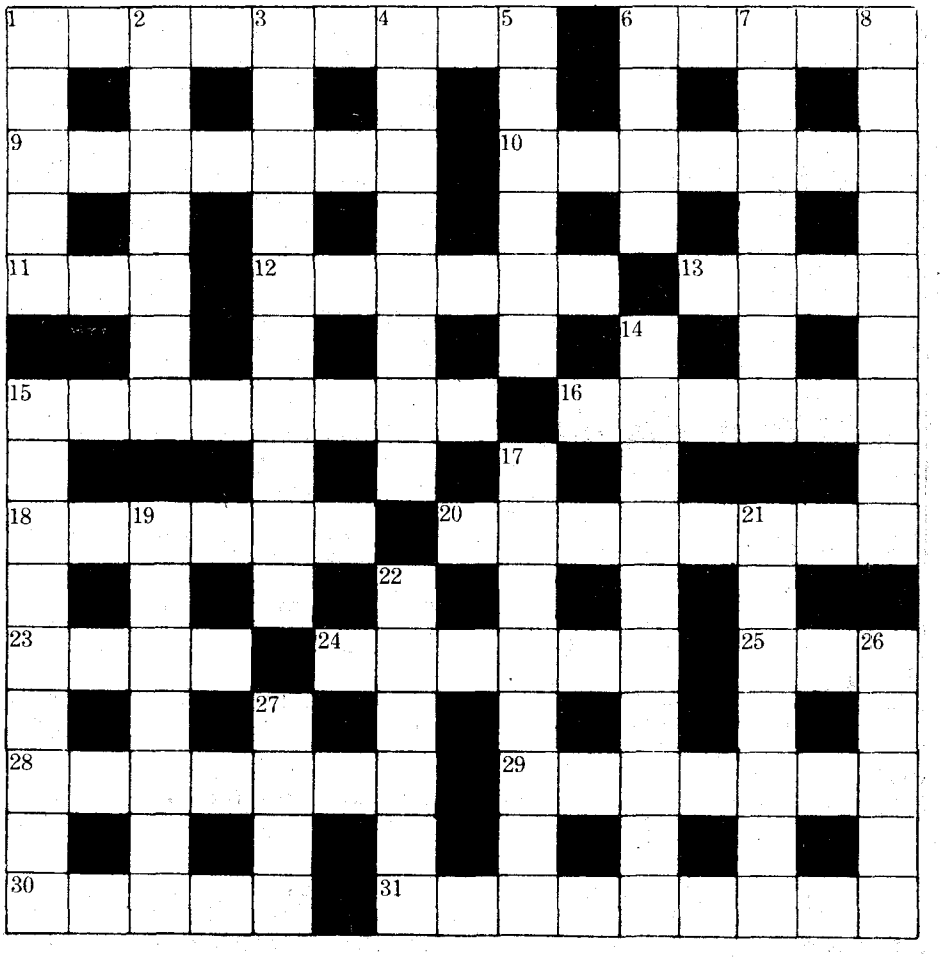
Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

LOCAL ONE AMALGAMATED LITHOGRAPHERS UNION LABEL NEW YORK X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 1926

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 6 Sounds like a match, in part or in whole, is put here and there. (6,3,5)
9 Scholastic philosopher—a paragon of honesty, and fat, too! (7)
10 See 15 across
11 See 26 down
12 Blessed way to behave to come into the world. (6)
13 and 21 down Fennel-flower which suggests a somewhat dampened ardor. (4-2-1-4)
15, 20, 25, 24 and 10 Where they tripped on the sidewalk. (4,4,4,4,3,6,3,4)
16 Growths a secret agent cut back. (6)
18 Partly the force, as they used to say, of a decapitated Southern sympathizer. (6)
20 See 15 across
23 In truth she goes to the city. (4)
24 and 25 See 15 across
28 Letters from a Senator that we might associate with Arnold. (7)
29 It might be held to be the type that's confused with a tear-jerker around. (7)
30 and 4 down Like a well-prepared Roosevelt rider? Good enough for the purpose! (5-3-5)
31 Went back? (Bill was picked up for another round if you have this.) (9)

DOWN

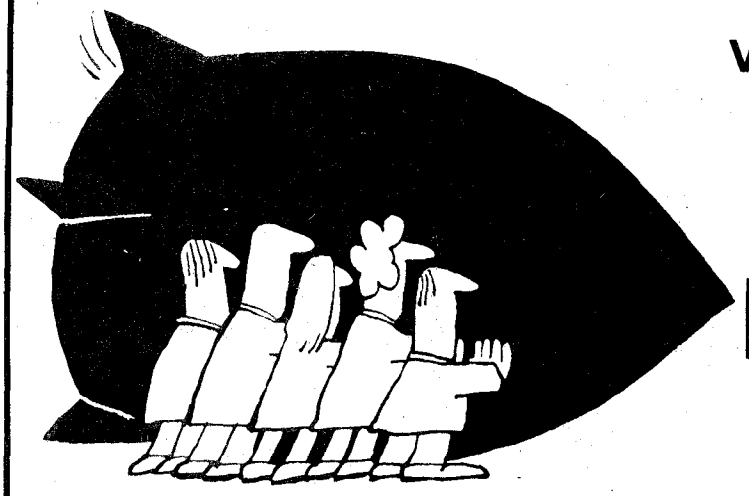
1 Where they put up a stand well-remembered from state to state. (5)
2 Brother of the girl who looked well in black, or possibly Kefauver. (7)
3 Narrow escapes from neighborly young ladies. (4,6)
4 See 30 across
5 Incredulous rejoinder for those who want to produce Rossini's work? (2,4)
6 Speak with confidence of 23, perhaps. (4)
7 The heights of science? Quite the other way around! (7)
8 The violent 'teens, seen by Mr. Williams. (9)
14 Signed on for one period after another. (6,4)
15 Good at digging up the dirt. (9)
17 Dramatically associated with a version of Arrowsmith. (8)
19 A bad pun with 23 might be described as a recent arrival. (7)
21 See 13 across
22 Their one reply has something to take care of pressing business. (6)
26 and 11 across Ruled as being fit for expurgation—or just retired. (5,3)
27 Writer who might make money the hard way. (4)

PUZZLED?

No more cross words; write for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's "ground rules" c/o *The Nation.* Learn why "little skipper" is a "truant."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRAVEL WITH The Nation FACT-FINDERS



Visit Germany & The Netherlands
Explore The
EUROPEAN DISARMAMENT DEBATE

NOVEMBER 10–21, 1982

Meet with Leading Representatives of the Peace Movement, the Military, Government & Political Parties

Package Price $1395*

TENTATIVE ITINERARY

Wednesday Nov. 10—Leave New York City (evening)

Thursday Nov. 11—West Berlin—*American/NATO decision to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles on European soil*: Briefing by NATO staff (evening)

Friday Nov. 12—West Berlin—*Response of the Peace Movement to Rearmament*: Lecture, slide show, discussions and workshops (morning & afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 13—West Berlin—*City Politics and Community Organizing in Berlin*: Alternative bus tour of city with lecture and discussions (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 14—East Berlin—*History of Fascism*: Visit to Sacsenhausen concentration camp (morning); *Politics of Peace in the German Democratic Republic*: Visit with government representatives (afternoon)

Monday Nov. 15—Dortmund—*East/West Trade, the Gas Pipeline Deal and U.S. Foreign Policy*: Visit turbine or pipe factory (afternoon); viewpoints of Industry, Labor and representatives from the foreign offices of West Germany and the Soviet Union (evening)

Tuesday Nov. 16—Dortmund—*Nuclear Power and Alternative Energy*: Visit nuclear power plant at Hamm (morning & afternoon); Green Party, ecologists and alternative economists (evening)

Wednesday Nov. 17—Cologne—*War & Reconstruction*: Slide show and lecture on WWII bombing raids (morning); walking tour of old section of the city (afternoon)

Thursday Nov. 18—Bonn—*Disarmament Politics, Parliamentary Parties and the 1984 Federal Elections*: Talks and discussions with Christian Democrats (morning), Social Democrats (afternoon)

Friday Nov. 19—Amsterdam—*Disarmament Politics and Parliamentary Parties in Holland*: Talks and discussions with Workers' Party, Christian Democrats, Pacifist Socialist Party, Communist Party-Netherlands (afternoon)

Saturday Nov. 20—Amsterdam—*The Peace Movement and Alternative Politics*: Representatives of various social movements (afternoon)

Sunday Nov. 21—Return to New York City

(Price is based on double occupancy—includes all transportation, lodging and food, except dinner on five open evenings)

The Nation FACT-FINDERS

72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011

I'm interested in *The Nation* FACT-FINDERS Tour to Germany and The Netherlands, November 10-21, 1982. (Limited spaces available—reservation deadline October 15, 1982.)

☐ RESERVE space for me.
Enclosed is my check for $_____. ($200 deposit required for each person—no penalty on cancellations made before September 20, 1982.)

☐ I'M INTERESTED, send more information.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

NFF8230

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED